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MADRAS UNIVERSITY ISLAMIC SERIES—No. 11

GENERAL EDITOR

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF
THE NAWWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

V

BĀHAR-I-A'ZAM-JĀHĪ

BY

GHULĀM ABDU'L QĀDIR NAZIR

BAHĀR-I-A'ZĀM JĀHĪ

OF

GHULĀM 'ABDU'L-QĀDIR NĀZIR

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

1950

PRINTED BY N. RAMARATNAM, M.A., B.L.,
AT THE MADRAS LAW JOURNAL PRESS, MADRAS, 4.

1950

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INTRODUCTION

This volume concludes the task which I undertook many years ago and which represents the *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*. The first instalment "from the early days to the battle of Ambur 1749 A. D." carried the history to the death of Nawwāb Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang and was published in 1934; and the continuation down to the last years of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I and the death of his son 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II (1801 A. D.) in two volumes was published in 1939 and 1940. Four years elapsed ere the fourth volume, from the death of 'Umdatul-'Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II to the regency of Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur, saw light.

The present one which constitutes the fifth volume of the *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic* cannot be regarded as superior to its four predecessors, but it contains new matter and is geographically very important. The author of this work Ghulām 'Abdu'l-Qādir Nāzīr who accompanied the Nawwāb in his pilgrimage to Nāgūr, Tanjore District, was commissioned by him to compile an account of the various *manzils*, mentioning whatever came to the notice every day on the road covered by them with the names of villages, tombs of saints, mosques, *sarāis*, buildings, shops, brooks, rivers, tanks, springs, gardens and other things of interest in the course of their journey from Madras to Nāgūr and back *via* Trichinopoly and Arcot.

Behind the passage of invading armies of the Dutch, the French and the English, behind the turmoil of struggles for political power in the Indian peninsula in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Nāgūr had gone through its own life with the procession of pilgrims and their deep devotion at the revered *dargāh*. Any one who has paid a visit to this town must have heard of the tales of the saint whose tomb lies therein, stories of his mysterious power and the legends woven round them. These tales, too precious to forget, are stored in the memory and have lived on from generation to

generation. The enthusiasm with which his miraculous gifts are related, creates in the minds of the Muslims of Southern India and to a certain extent among the Hindu populace, an ardent desire to visit his shrine. This provided a great stimulus to travel even though travel was not easy in those days when the railway was non-existent and motor car was unknown.

Nawwāb A'zam Jāh Bahādur cherished the hope of visiting the shrine of Qutb-ul-aqtāb Hazrat Sayyid Abdu'l-Qādir, interred in Nāgūr even during the life-time of his father 'Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, but he could not realize the hope of his younger days till he ascended the throne.

A'zam Jāh Bahādur succeeded his father as Nawwāb Wālājāh IV on the 17th of Rabī'uth-thānī, 1235 A. H. (3rd February, 1820 A. D.). During his period, the people were satisfied with his justice, equity and his other eminent qualities. In 1823 the Nawwāb appointed Mumtāzūl-Umarā Bahādur, his maternal uncle, as the *nā'ib* and made arrangements for his journey to the shrine at Nāgūr with the help of Major General Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor-in-Council. The Nawwāb took in his company members of the royal family, *manṣabdārs*, *ūlīms*, *shaykhs*, stipendiaries, skilled men of all descriptions, *hakīms*, and literary men. The equipage of the zenana, the army of the *sarkār* with their dependents, servants, menials and such others to look after bullocks and vehicles, coolies, shop-keepers, the English army composed of a battalion of armed men with their suite—all these numbered more than twenty-thousand men. *Bahal* and *bandy* were more than five hundred in number; palanquin bearers were more than five hundred; horses from the royal stable were more than one hundred; elephants and camels were about one hundred. The journey to and fro Nāgūr covered a period of four months from 3rd February to June, 1823, A.D. Lakhs of rupees were spent during this trip.

Another merit of this book is that it contains a brief account of Muslim saints whose tombs lay in different places visited by the Nawwāb. The outlines given by the author in the lives of these saints provide valuable material for a study of the method and the manner of the spread of Islam in

Southern India; they also constitute an indispensable supplement and corrective to the accepted notions of the history of Islam in Southern India.

A third kind of material of which it is impossible to over-estimate the importance, consists of the sort of life and civilization of the South Indian Muslims, and non-Muslims during that period; it further serves to illuminate the speed in the transition of the influence from the Indian to the European.

The author Ghulām 'Abdu'l Qādir Nāzīr is keenly sensitive to the rebuffs to which his vocation exposes him. Naturally he exhibits his resentment against his adversaries. It will also be noticed that he endeavours to show that he is a diligent student, well-versed in the classics. He tries to display his varied learning by frequent quotations from celebrated authors. The present editor has collected these interesting fragments at the end of this volume. These would show the position occupied by the Persian language in that period. Persian was not only the language of the court and of diplomacy, but also of correspondence and *belles lettres*.

My deepest gratitude is due to the Syndicate of the University of Madras for their kindness in consenting to and arranging for the publication of these volumes under its auspices.

S. MUHAMMAD HUSAYN NAINAR

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A'zam Jih Bahādur Nawwab W d'jah IV—1820-1825 A D

SOURCES OF THE HISTORY OF THE NA·WWĀBS OF THE CARNATIC

PART V

BAHĀR-I-A'ẒAMJAHĪ

In the name of Allāh, Most Gracious, Most Merciful.

Plentiful praise and profuse thanks are worthy of the great court of the Almighty Lord, Who, in His power, helps travellers in a strange desert to reach their destination, and Who cheers up the sorrow-stricken by His vast bounty. Eminent is Allāh's grace! Universal are His gifts!

Blessings and greetings may be paid courteously at the court of the exalted emperor (Prophet) where a group of holy and dignified *nabīs* and *rasūls* (peace be on them) wait upon him. The dust raised by the march of his victorious army on the high way of absolute certainty of assured Truth is the collyrium for the eye. His children, possessing his excellence, enjoy the grade of dignity as the ship of Nūh;¹ whoever holds to that

¹ Nūh (Noah) was one of the prophets whom the Muslims style as *Nabiyullāh*, the Prophet of Allāh. Noah's mission was to a wicked world, plunged in sin. He had great love for his people. He warned them against evil and called them to repentance. But they scoffed at him and rejected his message. God gave him instructions to build an Ark against the impending flood which was to purify the world from sin and unrighteousness. In it Noah and those who believed in him were saved.

For an account of Noah and of the flood, see *Qurān*, Chapter XI, verses 25-49.

ship will attain salvation. His noble companions are strung together as blessed stars; following in their steps will show the way in both the worlds, while disobedience to them will cause ruin.

May Allāh bless Muḥammad, his noble family, and his fortunate companions for ever!

Now: The despicable slave of the Lord the Forgiver, by name Ghulām Abdūl-Qādir Nāzir, son of Ghulām Muḥiyyūd-Dīn Muʿjiz, was granted, in his childhood, the title *Qādir ʿAzīm Khān Bahādur* by Amīrūl-Hind Madārūl-Mulk ʿAzīmūd-Dawla Abdūl-ʿAlī Khān Bahādur Shawkat Jang Sipah Sālār Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

Let it be known to all that the exalted son of Nawwāb ʿAzīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III is now the ruler of Muslims and protector of this humble servant. He is an *amīr*, an excellent administrator and an asylum for men; he is of an enlightened mind, and like a sun in meting out justice. As a prince he was well-known as Nawwāb Aʿzam Jāh Fakhruʿl-Umarā Mukhtārūl Mulk Roshanūd-Dawla Muḥammad Murawwar Khān Bahādur Bahādur Jang. For a description of his good qualities space is too narrow in this book.

Aʿzam Jāh Bahādur, after he ascended the throne of the Carnatic as Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, undertook a journey from Madras to the noble city of Nāgūr.¹ He reached Shiyālī, the sixteenth *mansil* from Madras on Wednesday the 7th of Jumadāʿl-ākhir of the year 1238 A.H. There the Nawwāb, kind and charitable as were his wont, summoned, at 11 o'clock during the night, this humble slave, famous for his ignorance, and commanded him to commit to writing the details about every *mansil* of the journey. Although this inexperienced and unskilled man with a little learning was frightened at this

¹ His holiness Sayyid Abdūl-Qādir ṣāhib popularly known as Ḥaẓrat Qādir Walī, one of the most famous saints of Southern India, is interred in Nāgūr.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

command, yet he got ready for the work in passive obedience. Every day whatever distance covered was made a note of together with whatsoever we came across in our journey *manzil* after *manzil*, such as villages, tombs of saints, mosques, *sarāis*, buildings, shops, rivulets, rivers, tanks, springs, gardens, etc. If the learned happen to notice mistakes in language or faults in presentation, they are earnestly requested to correct these, and the author will be deeply indebted to them for such kindness.

This book is named *Bahār-i-Aẓam Jāhī*. It is divided into four chapters with a preface and an epilogue.

FIRST CHAPTER.

The starting of Aẓam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV from the delightful Madras to the noble city of Nāgūr.

This is divided into eighteen sections.

SECOND CHAPTER.

The journey of the Nawwāb from Nāgūr towards the *ṣūba* of Dārūn-Naṣr Nattharnagar, (Trichinopoly).

This is divided into eight sections.

THIRD CHAPTER.

The march of the Nawwāb from Nattharnagar towards the *ṣūba* of Darūn-nūr Muḥammadpūr, (Arcot).

This is divided into fifteen sections.

FOURTH CHAPTER.

The departure of the Nawwāb from Muḥammadpūr towards the delightful *dārūl-amāra* in Madras.

This is divided into nine sections.

By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, and by His divine grace, his majesty Nawwāb Wālājāh IV is a high-minded and a resolute ruler. During the lifetime of his father Aẓīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, he cherished the hope of

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visiting the shrine of Ḥaẓrat Sayyid 'Abdul-Qādir well-known as Qādir Walī, the descendant of Ghawth-al-A'ẓam¹ in the eleventh generation. But the Nawwāb could not realize the hope of his younger days as per the saying that every plan could be converted into fact only at the definite time prescribed for it. He was able to carry out his wish after he succeeded his father as Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

After consultation with the most noble Marquis of Hastings Bahādur, Governor-General of Hindustān, and Major General Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor in Council, Madras, arrangements were made for the Nawwāb's journey, and necessary equipments for the army were collected. The Government issued an *ishtihār-nāma* in the English language describing the rank and dignity of the Nawwāb, together with the details of his journey.

The following details were given in the *ishtihār-nāma*:

“The exalted Nawwāb ṣāhib left Chīpāk on Monday evening undertaking a journey to the South. When he arrived at the *bāgh* of the *dāru'l-amāra*, a salute of guns was fired there and also from the Fort as per usual. A salute of nineteen guns was also fired in honour of Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāhiba and Prince Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur. The journey began in great pomp and splendour. Beside the paraphernalia of the Nawwāb, there were also present guards of honour, the body-guard of the Hon'ble Governor and the troops of the government. At the time of sun-set the suite of the Nawwāb with all paraphernalia was sighted on the road to Frangikunda. Perhaps the Carnatic might not have witnessed such a grand sight. On that day Nawwāb ṣāhib reached Amīr-

¹ He is Sayyid or Shaykh 'Abdul-Qādir Jilānī, Ḥusaynūl-Ḥusaynī, the founder of the Qādiriyya order of *faqirs*. He takes the name *Jilānī* from his birth place Jilān in Western Persia. He was born in 1078 A.D. and died in Baghdād, Feb. 22, 1166, where his tomb is still held in great veneration.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

bāgh at the time of the *sun-set prayer*. On Tuesday he went to Rōshān-bāgh in Mānbalam; thence he would proceed southwards. It seems he would take a journey to Nāgūr, thence to Rāmnāth, Trichināpaly and Arcot. Then he would return to Chīpāk. On the morning of Wednesday when a salute of guns was fired from Frangikunda it was known that the Nawwāb had marched out from that station."

The Nawwāb appointed his junior uncle, Mumtāzu'l-Umarā Amīru'l-Mulk 'Imādu'd-Dawla Muḥammad 'Imādu'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ṣafar Yāb Jang, to look after the affairs here at Madras during his absence. Mumtāzu'l-Umarā is an intelligent person, favourably disposed to the Nawwāb, and ready to help all men. Such individuals are not found often.

The Nawwāb spent thousands of rupees to make ready necessary things for the *farrāsh-khāna*. His devotion, piety, exactitude in religious observances, and his firmness in the Faith are all revealed in his actions. These days it is very difficult to find in the *wālājāhī* family such a young and god-natured ruler.

Azam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV got ready two excellent tents, minarets, and gold-gilded *kalas* for improvising a mosque on the way; a reservoir made of dressed hide for storing water to serve the purpose of a *hawṣ* after the manner of Abū Ṣafar Muḥiyu'd-Dīn Awrangzēb 'Ālamgīr Pādshāh Ghāzi. These things were made ready with a view to provide facilities for the entourage to say prayers in congregation. All preparations worthy of a *ra'īs*, and an *amīr* were completed and the victorious army of the Nawwāb was not in need of anything.

The Nawwāb advanced money to cultivators for the purpose of purchasing seeds, implements, and digging wells. He gave orders that *ālīms*, *shayḫs*, members of the royal family, *manṣab.lārṣ*, stipendiaries, skilled men of all description, *hakīms*, and literary men to join his tour. He

fixed monthly allowances *to every one in addition to the sums paid for expenses of kitchen, conveyance, and beasts of burden. Men of rank who did not possess the equipage were granted ninety rupees per month. But the author of this book was granted only sixty rupees for the expenses of conveyance as in the case of men possessing the equipage, although this allowance was refused sixteen months ago as he had no friend at the *darbār* to speak on his behalf. In this manner men who possessed the equipage were granted allowances according to rank. Some had the good fortune to receive hundreds of rupees.

During this journey lacs of rupees were spent; *chūlat*, *kam̄h̄vāb*, *duh̄lā*, and such other robes were given as presents. The equipage of the *maḥalls* along with the *ilāqadārs* of the zenana, the distinguished men, the army of the *sarkār*, with their dependents, servants, menials, and such others to look after bullocks, vehicles, elephants, mules, horses and camels, *kahārs*, *mashūchī*, *khullāsi*, coolies, and others, shop-keepers, the English army, composed of a battalion of armed men, two hundred troops with their suite and *sardārs*, especially Major MacDonald the Government agent, and Colonel Munro who accompanied the Nawwāb—all these numbered more than twenty-thousand men in the aggregate. The carriages and other means of transport were such a vast multitude as to raise a doubt in the minds of spectators whether even a *rā's* commanding an army of fifty-thousand could ever possess them. For, *bahal* and *bandy* were more than five hundred in number; *kahārs* and coolies, besides permanent servants, and the palanquin-bearers of the *il-savāri* with the Nawwāb, were more than five hundred; elephants and camels were about one hundred in number; horses from the royal stable were more than one hundred.

In addition to the existing men in the army fresh appointments were also made by the Nawwāb at the time of his

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

journey. The post of *mīr-manzilī* was given to Ṣafīyyū'd-Dīn Muḥammad Khān who, later on, in the course of journey succeeded Bani Nawāz Khān as the *dārujha* of the *farrāsh-khāna*. At Wandalūr, Sharaftū'l-Mulk was entrusted with the task of collecting necessary things for the army through the help of *taḥşıldār*. Every day this officer used to be present at the tent of Sharaftū'l-Mulk and carried out diligently the commands of the Nawwāb.

Nawwāb şāhib gave strict orders to Mr. Small,¹ the Collector of Chingleput, that he should enjoin the *taḥşıldār* to attend to whatever demands made for supplies without fail. In this manner orders were given to other Collectors such as Mr. Heds,² Mr. Cotton, Mr. Shanktan,³ Mr. Cook, and their *pēşhdāns* and *taḥşıldārs* under their jurisdiction, that they should make arrangements in their respective area for providing supplies to the army. The Governor-in-Council Bahādur had also sent previous intimation about the departure of the Nawwāb and the places he would pass through and had issued strict orders pertaining to arrangements on the way. So every Collector felt very happy to meet the Nawwāb and accompanied him as far as the limits of his jurisdiction.

At the sixth *manzil*, Ghulām Abdu'l-Qādir of Bijapur, who came to Madras from Farkhunda Bunyād Haydarābād with the hope of getting some service, was appointed by the Nawwāb to the post of *harāwal* namely *pēşhkhāna*. Out of fear and reverence for the Nawwāb he was so assiduous in his work, that even in sleep he would seem to be giving instructions to *farrāshān* and others in respect of their duties.

¹ He is Mr. Smalley the Collector of Chingleput about the year 1810. Later on about the year 1814, Mr. Cook became the Collector of Chingleput. After some time Mr. Smalley succeeded Mr. Cook again as Collector.

² Mr. Charles Hyde, Collector of South Arcot from 1813-1826, was the first to be styled as the Collector and District Magistrate.

³ He may be William Ashton, who was the Sub-Collector and later Collector of South Arcot.

Muḥammad Ṣafdar Ḥusayn was selected to the post of *dāruḡha* of palanquin-bearers of the Nawwāb with his *maḥalls*. He was diligent and trustworthy in his work, and had already served as *khānsāmān* for twenty years under the late Muḥammad Khān-i-Jahān Bahādur Tahawwur Jang, the junior uncle of Aẓīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III.

Qādir Muḥammad Khān was appointed to be the *dāruḡha* of the *kahārs* and Masīḥūz-zamān to be the *dāruḡha* of *bandīs*. Later, at the *manzil* of Silambar he was transferred as the *dāruḡha* of coolies. When he was removed from service, Sayyid Ḥabībullāh was appointed to his place.

Sayyid Walīullāh, who was appointed to be the *dāruḡha* of *bahal* and *bandī-ṣandūqī*, was, later on, removed from service, and in his place Aẓam Nawāz Khān was appointed. He was the son of Ḥājī Muḥammad Maghribī, a fine, able man who was the trustee in charge of the management of the Anwarī and the Wālājāhī mosques.¹

Burhānullāh was chosen as the *dāruḡha* of cows. Ghulām Muṣṭafā, son of Ghawth Muḥammad Khān Bahādur was entrusted with the management of *langar-khāna* in Nattharnagar. Wajīhullāh was selected to the post of *chandū* namely *peśhkhāna*. In this manner there were many changes in the appointments to different posts. The appointments which do not relate to the journey were either allowed to continue or abolished. Information about these will be recorded as and when they happen in the course of the journey.

May the Generous Lord help us to realize our aims. May He conduct safely the Nawwāb with his followers and well-wishers to their destination!

¹ The Anwarī mosque is on the Big Street, Triplicane. The name *Anwarī* is given to it in memory of Nawwāb Anwarūd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, the father of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I and founder of the Wālājāhī dynasty in the Carnatic.

The Wālājāhī mosque is situated on the Triplicane High Road.

FIRST CHAPTER

*The departure of the Nawwāb from the delightful Madras
to the noble city of Nāgūr.*

Section 1.

3rd Feb. 1823 A. D.

By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV said the *after-noon prayer* on the 21st of Jumādāl-Awwal, 1238 A.H., adorned himself head to foot with golden *khilat* of high value and precious stones, and like the world-illuminating sun, took his seat in a palanquin decorated with green *makhmal*, along with his brother-in-law Najmul-Mulk-Ẓiyā'ud-Dawla Ghulām Ṣamad Khān Bahādur Qaysar Jang. He marched in great state from the *Khāṣṣ-bāgh* in the *dārul-amāra*, Chīpāk, to Amīrbāgh at a distance of about a mile. There followed the paraphernalia of the *sarkār*, armed battalion of the English, bodyguards, a crowd of spectators reckoned to be greater than generally seen on the *'id* days, *sawaris* of *maḥalls* such as the most revered Ḥaẓrat Nawwāb Bēgam ṣāḥiba, the noble mother of the Nawwāb—a description of whose good disposition and high intention cannot be attempted in this brief book—the *maḥall-khāṣṣ* of the Nawwāb, her sisters and others. Nawwāb Azīm Jāh Amīru'l-Umarā 'Umdatul-Mulk Asadu'd-Dawla Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Dhul-Faqār Jang, the happy brother of the Nawwāb, rode on a swift horse close to the palanquin of the Nawwāb. He is as inseparable from the Nawwāb as is the light from the glorious sun. When the suite arrived close to the *bāgh* of the Governor, the flag of honour was hoisted on the fort and a salute of guns was fired

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

in honour of the Nawwāb, the Bēgam mother and the prince. When the Nawwāb set out on his journey every man and woman, whether he be a Muslim or a non-Muslim, who cannot join the Nawwāb in his journey, raised his hands in prayer for him, while pearly drops trickled down the cheeks.

The Nawwāb shed light on the Amīr-bāgh by his presence at the time of the *sun-set prayer*. Many who came with the suite went home to attend to their work thinking to return the next day as the distance of that day's journey was not very far. The author of this book also was given leave to go; as it was a dark night the Nawwāb sent with him a *mashūlchī*. May Allāh illuminate the lamp of his *īmān*! May He grant him long life and prosperity!

Section 2.

4th Feb. 1823 A. D.

On the morning of the 22nd, the Nawwāb got into a *bahal* drawn by horses and reached, in a short while, Rōshān-bāgh at a distance of a little more than three miles from the last *manzil*.

Sa'dī¹ says: "An amīr is not a way-farer passing through hills and jungles; wherever he goes, tents are pitched up and the place becomes a *bārgāh*." There was such a vast crowd that the place was worthy of being named *Azām-nagar*. During the night Mr. Wood, the Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, an old and staunch friend of the Nawwāb from the days of Azīmu'd-Dawla Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh III had an interview with him and went away after staying a long time.

¹ He is the most celebrated poet and moralist of Shīrāz. No Persian writer enjoys to this day, not only in his own country, but wherever his language is cultivated, a greater reputation. His *Gulistān* or "Rose Garden" and his *Bustān* or "Orchard" are generally the first classics to which the student of Persian is introduced, while his *Ghazals* or Odes, enjoy a popularity second only to those of his fellow-townsmen Hāfiz.

THE NAWWAB'S ARRIVAL AT RIZĀ-QULI-PETTAH

Section 3.

5th Feb. 1823 A. D.

Early in the morning of the 23rd, the Nawwāb rode a horse and went to Wandalūr at a distance of fifteen miles. The *tahşildārs*, ryots, *raqqāşgān* and such other *ilāqadārs* in that area who were waiting for him hurried eagerly to welcome the Nawwāb as far as his *manzilgāh*. After he alighted at the tent, they offered him *naḏhr*, and trays of fruits. The Nawwāb honoured every one with presents suited to his rank. As stated already the Government ordered that the people should behave themselves in this manner at every *manzil* when the Nawwāb arrived, and that his displeasure would bring them to ruin. Therefore every *ilāqalār* was so very obedient and reverential that there was nothing worth wishing for. Frangikunda with its beautiful garrison lay on the way, also the villages Mīnam-pāk, Armatūr, Manrūpettah, and the *chāwri* Kōlar and two lakes. When the happy suite of the Nawwāb entered the limits of Frangikunda a salute of three guns was fired as per usual; the flag was hoisted on the hill, and the troops presented a guard of honour to the Nawwāb.

Section 4.

6th Feb. 1823. A. D.

On the 24th at the time of sun-rise the Nawwāb rode to Rizā-quli-pettah, popularly known as Rājkoilpetta at a distance of fifteen miles. He arrived there at 9 A.M. There were three villages at this *manzil*: Pīhri, Kārā, and Shiknam. The Chingleput lake was close to the encampment. Adjoining the lake is the tomb of Ḥājjī Umar, one of the *faqirs* of Ḥazrat Shāh Alī Gunj Gawhar Qāliri. At this *manzil* a *tora* of five trays was sent by the Nawwāb to Mr. Smāl, the Collector of Chingleput.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

* Section 5.

7th Feb. 1823 A. D.

On the 25th after the *early-morning prayer* the Nawwāb rode at a gallop to Karkatpāla, also known as Karungulī, at a distance of fifteen miles. He arrived there at 9 A.M. Chingleput which lay on the way, is a good *jāgīr*, well inhabited and has a strong *qila*. In former times it was under the control of Nawwāb Ṣalāhiyyat Khān, nicknamed *Niqāhbān*. After Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I became the ruler of the Carnatic, he granted that place together with Kanji as *jāgīr* to the English company having regard to their goodwill and zeal in rendering service to him.

Passing on, three villages, Mayyūr, Mandūr, and Yaktirī, and the river Pālār, came in view. Although it was not rainy season then, yet it took nearly twenty minutes to cross that river. The following reason is given for the name Pālār. *Pāl* in the *arwi* language means *milk* and *ār* is river. That is, the water of this river is white and clear like milk.

Karkatpālā was in former times the *jāgīr* of Ja'far Alī Khān Bahādur Mahīkrī. Now it looks like a village. Still it is well-inhabited and a brisk place. There is also a fort, but it is not in repair, and in a decaying condition. The tomb of Murād Shāh Mastān is contiguous to it. He was a pious man. The *urs* in his honour is celebrated on the 17th of Dhul-Qaḍa.

Section 6.

8th Feb. 1823 A. D.

On the 26th, after the *early-morning prayer* the Nawwāb rode to Acharwāk at a distance of eleven miles and reached there by 8-35 A.M. There were three villages on the way, Madnāt, Pākam, and Parwattūr. At this *mansil* there are three lakes, and a rivulet which the people call a *nālā*. There

THE NAWWAB AT VIKKARAWANDI

is the tomb of Sayyid Shāh Ahmad, brother of Shāh Mastān. His *urs* is on the 15th of Ramazān.

Section 7.

9th Feb. 1823 A. D.

On the 27th morning after sun-rise, the Nawwāb sat in a green palanquin and set out to Walkūr at a distance of ten miles. He arrived there at about 9 A.M. Narputhur village and three rivulets were seen on the way.

The area from Walkūr as far as Silambar is under the *ilāqa* of Mr. Hed, the Collector of Wirdāchal district.

Section 8.

10th Feb. 1823 A. D.

On the 28th, at 6-10 A.M. the Nawwāb rode to Tindivalan, at a distance of seven miles and arrived there by about 9 A.M. The village Ālambarī with two lakes and a rivulet was sighted on the way.

Section 9.

11th Feb. 1823 A. D.

On the 29th, at 5-10 A.M. the Nawwāb started on horseback to Vikkarawāndī, at a distance of sixteen miles and reached there by 10-25 A.M.

Villages, hills, rivers, lakes, etc., that fell on the way may be described thus:

As they proceeded along the south there came in view a hill on the east and the Tindiwalan tank on the west. Journeying further the village Pushār came in view, while the Warūmutī tank lay to the east of it. Then came a tract of sand with wild appearance. It is a division of the village Pindahmangalam situated to the west of this tract and removed from the common

high way. Two villages Kuttēripettah and Waḷangambārī were reached between the northern and western sides of that sandy tract. At Waḷangambārī the Nawwāb alighted from horse-back and took his seat in a *sukhsāwan*. Then there came in view a lake on the eastern side, and the hills of Chenjī on the western side. After this the village Shannūr, rich in cultivation of *tuxar* and figs, was reached. As they marched forth, the lake Pardāpalī, in the midst of rock, a confluence of several tanks was seen. Passing on, the village Kuttāmali with barley cultivation, and a vast area of waste land, scattered with trees, came in view.

Section 10.

12th Feb. 1823 A. D.

On the 30th, at 5-50 A. M. the Nawwāb sat in a *sukhsāwan* shaped like the mouth of a lion and set out to Bēlpūr at a distance of seven miles. At 8-27 A.M. he arrived there and had breakfast with the English *sardārs*. Mr. Hed the district collector and his two *pēshdāstāns* had also the honour of being present at the breakfast along with the Nawwāb. The collector was presented with a *tora* of five trays. At this *manzil* some difficulty was experienced in getting supplies for the reason that the officers were negligent in their duty. When the Nawwāb was annoyed, the officers begged pardon for their faults and tried to make amends.

The following are the villages and rivulets that were noticed on the way:

Villages Pāpanpēṭṭa and Mundampāk and the river Tiruwāmanūr. On the western side of Mundampāk is the indigo house. It is a sandy place. Chintāmanī is rich in indigo; to the east of that village is the indigo house. Wankarātiryākram and Kachipāla are two other villages through which the river Chenjī flows.

THE NAWWĀB VISITS THE SEPULCHRE AT PANNUTI

Section 11.

13th Feb. 1823 A. D.

On Thursday, the 1st of Jumādal-Ākhir at 5-39 A.M. Nawwāb set out on horse back to Pannuti, at a distance of fifteen miles, and arrived at the royal pavilion by 9 A.M. On the way a *bayrāji-manḍap* lay on the western side. The villages noticed were:

Tirpashanūr alongside of the Pinna, a broad and long river; Tirtalūr rich in palm trees; Nabīpettah, also known as Rōshanpēttah. The reason for the second name is as follows: When Nawwāb Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādur¹ encamped here in the course of his march to Tanjore, he took a fancy to this place, supplied it with inhabitants and named it Rōshanpēttah after the appellation *Rōshanūd-Dawla* he bore as a young prince.

Ningārdīpālam; Pannūtī. Hazrat Nūr Muḥammad Qādirī chirāgh passed away at Pannūtī on the 27th of Muḥarram. The light of Islām is resplendent here on account of this holy person. His excellent *qubad* is visited by people. There is also a mosque, a *musājar-khāna* and a spring. The Nawwāb presented himself in humility before this noble sepulchre, said *fātiḥa* and felt pleased. The *īdgāh* is situated at a small distance from the village.

Section 12.

14th Feb. 1823 A. D.

On the 2nd, at 6-17 A.M. the Nawwāb took his seat in a *sukhsāwan* shaped like the mouth of a lion, and set out towards the east. At 11-10 A.M. he reached the bank of a river in

¹ He is the second son of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. His name is Hāfiz Muḥammad Munawwar, and styled as Nawwāb Amīrūl-Umarā Madārūl-Mulk Rōshanūd-Dawla Muḥammad Munawwar Khān Bahādur, Bahādur Jang. He passed away during the lifetime of his father.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

Manjakuppam, at a distance of twelve miles, and contiguous to Kūdalūr. Manjakuppam is well populated and has many buildings belonging to the English. During the early part of the journey the Nawwāb paid a visit to the tomb of Sayyid Shāh Abdūr-Raḥīm which lay on the way.

The villages on the way were: Milpāla, Tirwādi and Kawripēt. There is a *sarāi* on the northern side of Kawripēt, which is known as *chatar* among the people of these parts. It is set up for the comfort of travellers. Here is the tomb of Qalandar Shāh. The Nawwāb, in accordance with the adage, "Seek help from dwellers in tombs" paid a visit, said *fātiḥa* to get a blessing. Tirkandahchāram and Waḥāpettah are to the north of the *chatar*, and Nallikuppam is to the south of the *idgāh*, while Shōlawallī is on the north. Nallikuppam has a *masjid* and tombs of two pious men, well known as Shaykh Muḥammad sāhib and Shaykh Mīrān sāhib. After saying *fātiḥa* as per usual, the Nawwāb took his seat on a *mahāl* and reached the encampment. Village Karānikuppam is on the southern side while Wirādādīpālam, Nawatpēttah and Kannūdūr are on the north.

Section 13.

15th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 3rd morning at 5-40 A.M. the Nawwāb rode to Agram, at a distance of nine miles, in south-easterly direction. He arrived there at 10-50 A.M. The river Kadnam and a few villages were on the way. The villages were Tarpāpallī, Shallakuppam enclosed by a stretch of salt water, Kūdalūr contiguous to *Paranda chāwārī*, Tandamatnān and Āshūrī where there is a vast area of waste land with a road leading to Phulcheri, the French port. Although Phulcheri was for a long time in possession of Muḥammad Āli Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, yet it was restored to the French when they made peace with the English.

THE NAWWAB AT SILAMBAR

At Āshūrī when they came across two roads, a major part of the army, especially the *ḥammāls*, took the wrong route and suffered severely. They underwent great hardship before they found their way.

Section 14.

16th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 4th at 6-5 A.M. the Nawwāb set out on a *baḥ* back to Kūrinjībārī, at a distance of eleven miles, and arrived there at 8-10 a.m. On the way Tilkadnapattan, and Kaḥḥuttan, situated along the sea coast, came in view.

Section 15.

17th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 5th at 5-30 a.m. the Nawwāb took his seat on a new gilded *sakhsārcan*, which looked like a *pādshāhī-bahal* drawn by horses, and started to Silambar, situated on the south at a distance of fifteen miles. He reached that place at 10-15 A.M. Bahawnagrī was on the way. It has a broad river, an *ūdghah* and an ancient mosque in the *ṣaḥn* of which many *mūmins* are interred. Most of the Muslims in that place are *ṭālims*, *fāḥils* and *qāḥils*. It is ascertained with proof that the *gōristān* at that place was built more than two hundred years ago. In the compound of the mosque there are two tombs of travellers who came from Lahore or some place in the Punjab. It is said that these travellers looked like ordinary men but they were saints of high order. There is also the famous tomb of Khān Muḥammad Darwēsh.

Silambar is a thinly populated town. There are two mosques in a compound. One was built by Abdu'n-nabī Khān, *ṣūbadār* of Sadhut, and the other by Lāl Khān, *jāgīrdār* of Silambar and a pious man, following the *ṭariqa* of Hāzrat Khwāja Mājī Naqshbandī. Lāl Khān himself and his relatives are interred in the *ṣaḥn* of that mosque. The *ḥarawz* there is

well-planned and beautifully built. There is one other mosque, an ancient one, but not used at present. In the compound of this mosque, Sayyid Husayn one of the descendants of Fāṭima, and a pious man, is interred. At a little distance from this mosque is the tomb of Sayyid Amīnūd-Dīn Chishtī who is interred there about eighty years ago. There is also an *ʿidgāh* and a number of *takyas* of *faqīrs*.

After saying the *after-noon prayer*, the Nawwāb sat in a palanquin and set out to pay a visit to the tombs and offer *fātiḥa*. The author of this book also accompanied him. The Nawwāb offered *fātiḥa*, went round the city, and reached the mosque of the late *jāgirdār*. There he said the *sun-set prayer* in congregation and returned to the encampment, the way being lighted with torches and lanterns.

The Muslim population in Silambar is sparse, and the city may well be named *Kuffārpūr*. What shall I say about the idols there? They are like Lāt, Manāt, Hubal and 'Uzza,¹ which were famous among the Arabs of the Pre-Islamic days. The temple at Silambar is a *qilā*, strong and of solid structure. It is said that the *dēv* in that temple is of elixir while its ground-work is of gold and copper. The common herd has the mistaken notion that the exalted throne of Ḥaḏrat Sulaymān² the glorious

¹ These are the names of principal idols worshipped by the Arabs in the Pre-Islamic times. Hubal or Hobal is the great image which stood over the wall or hollow within the *Ka'ba*. In the cavity beneath were preserved the offerings and other treasures of the temple. Opinions differ as to the exact forms of these idols. One version is that Lāt was in human shape; 'Uzzā had its origin in a sacred tree, and Manāt in a white stone. These three represented god in female form. Lāt is mentioned in the Qurān together with 'Uzza and Manāt. See the Qurān, *sūra* 53, verses 19-20.

² Sulaymān (Solomon) according to the Qurān was the son of David and inherited not only his father's kingdom, but his spiritual insight and prophetic office. Solomon was a king of power and authority. Outside his kingdom he had great influence. He had knowledge of the speech of birds and beasts and plants. See the Qurān, *sūra* 27, verses 15-44.

THE TRIP TO SHIYALI.

ruler of men and genii, is placed there. Consequent on the mistaken idea some of the fellow-travellers went inside the temple; when they found to the contrary they returned ashamed of their conduct. Many who were not strong in the Faith and weak in their *imān* went astray on account of deceitful lies propagated in that place, and forgot entirely the fear of the Almighty Lord, and His punishment. May Allāh, exalted be He, grant long life to our *ra'īs* whose fervour for *Islām* blazed up into anger on learning this news, and gave strict orders to *palhras* of the *sarkār* as well as of the English, *taḥṣildārs* and other officers of the place that no Muslim should be allowed to go over to the temple and enter it, and the offenders against this rule be brought before him. This kept in check the misguided persons. May Allāh grant long life to our ruler, the protector of the Faith and asylum for Muslims in the Carnatic! May He bestow upon him a gift in the shape of a good son!

The Collector of the district took leave of the Nawwāb as his jurisdiction ended here. He was presented with a *tōra* of five trays.

Section 16.

18th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 6th, at 7-5 A.M., the Nawwāb sat in a *sukhsāwan* and set out to Shiyālī at a distance of thirteen miles in the south. He arrived there safe at 11 A.M. On the way there was a *chatār* on the western side; then they came across the river Kūlṛam. The villages passed on the way were: Parwāgarī, where the river Kūlṛam glides along; Ānikāram, Wallipattar, Kuttūr, Parkūra, Arachūram, Chindankurpān, Armulīpillai-chatar.

The jurisdiction of Mr. Cotton, Collector of Tajāwar, begins from this *manzil* and extends as far as Singāpatrī.

19th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 7th, at 7 A.M., the Nawwāb took his seat in a *sukhsāvan* shaped like the mouth of a lion, and reached, in a short while, the banks of Khārītīṭṭā. Then he rode a horse and stayed there till 10 A.M. In accordance with his natural kindness he arranged for the transport of the army and all the *musāfirs* with their bag and baggage by boat across the *khāri*. Thus the entire suite composed of elephants carrying flags and kettle-drums, horses fastened with *nazbat*, camelry, horses, armed men, Abyssinian slaves, retinue, servants, and other miscellaneous men, about three hundred in the aggregate crossed the water-way with the Nawwāb and marched forth in the manner of *julū*. They reached Tarikṭūr, at a distance of fourteen miles, about midday,

Just before the crossing of the *khāri*, the Nawwāb ordered the writer of this book to stay on, collect the men and things left over, in a boat and then cross the river. In obedience to the order I set to work and in a short while, no one was left on the bank of the river. Still as a precaution Muḥammad Aḥsanullāh Khān, the *dāruḡha* of *Mōdī-khāna*, an able and respectable man, was left there with some Abyssinian *jawāns* and two *pharas* of troops belonging to the English regiment, so that whatever left over might be conveyed by boat to the other bank. Such was the order of the kind Nawwāb. The author carried out the order of the Nawwāb and reached the *manzil* Tarikṭūr in the afternoon.

The following villages lay on the way:

Timbādī situated on the eastern side has a well, *bāḡh*, ninety-five houses, four shops, an *akrār* or the *maḡalla* of the Brahmans,

VILLAGES ON THE WAY TO TARIKTUR

Shattāwaram is another village like Timbādī, but it is larger in extent and without shops. The road is broad and clean. The river Palwār flows alongside of Shattāwaram, and empties into the *khārī* already noticed.

Kārāmpūr is a village on the western side. It has three or four houses and a *chāṛyī*. The village Tinlankaṛī also is in the same direction. It has a well. Karikuṛī, on the eastern side has a few houses and shady trees. A small river flows in between these two villages. There is also a rivulet flowing by the side of Karikuṛī. After this comes a low hill on either side of which are four small villages. Pāshādī and Tityākaṛī on the western side ; Kaylaśhālay and Milāśhālay on the northern side.

Kātīrpūr has about twenty houses, two shops, and two wells ; Chambayanīrpū, on the southern side, has ten houses, and a well ; Milānāngūr on the eastern side, has a few houses.

Kallwilāwan is in the same direction, along side of which a small tributary of the Cauvery flows. It has a well, a *chāṛyī* known as *karank chāṛyī*, and ten houses.

Nirāpallī has a *chāṛyī* on the southern side ; a small tributary of the Cauvery flows by it ; it has a few houses, shops and a well. Round about it are cocoanut trees ; Garūnāwaram has ten houses and a well ; Talchangāṛ, a village on the eastern side, has about twenty houses, and three wells. Pundālin has a *chāṛyī* on the eastern side, a well, four houses and a small *bāgh*.

Akūr has ninety five houses and three wells. Anpāpūṭī has four houses, a well and a *chāṛyī*. Tirkaṭūr, compared with other villages, is well-inhabited. It has one hundred and ten houses, ten shops, and four wells. On the whole it has more population and spacious houses.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

It is a good habit with the Nawwāb that after finishing the *after-noon prayer*, he sits in a *nālkī* or in a *bahal* drawn by horses and goes round the inhabited places slowly and at a steady pace sightseeing. A swarm of people from different parts will congregate to catch a glimpse of the Nawwāb, our bright moon. His appearance on such occasions may be described as follows in the hemistich of Nūru'd-Dīn Muḥammad Abū'l Muẓaffar Jahāngīr Pādshāh āzī:

“*The crescent moon of 'Īd appeared on the summit of the firmament.*”

Section 18.

20th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On Thursday the 8th, after saying the *early-morning prayer* the Nawwāb rode a beautiful horse swift as wind, and set out to the noble city of Nāgūr, his destination, situated at a distance of eighteen miles. He was followed by about fifty of his trustworthy men on horseback and in palanquin, the troops, armed men, retinue and others, together with *talḥildārs* and ryots of that area. Besides these, the spectators and others numbered more than five hundred. The Nawwāb marched forth in such great state and reached Nārāyan-nagrī-chatar, on the south, which has a few houses, two or three shops and a well. Then he continued his march and arrived at Puryār, a Dutch port, contiguous to Tarakambāṛī also known as Tilangambāṛī. Immediately after the Nawwāb entered its limits a salute of guns was fired in honour of his arrival as per usual. Mr. Kuf, the chief-secretary with a *sardār* of the army joined the *julū* and marched forth as far as the limits of his jurisdiction. The flag was hoisted on the *qilā* and a salute of guns also was fired in honour of the Nawwāb. There was such a great rush of people to see the *sarwārī* of the Nawwāb that there was very little space on the road.

VILLAGES ON THE WAY TO TARAKAMBĀRĪ

Tarakambārī is a densely populated place with about one thousand houses including shops, and a number of *bāghs*. It has a mosque and two tombs in pukka building covered with tiles. It is said that two pious men are interred there; one is the uncle, the other nephew. There is another tomb in the *qila* where Shaykh Ismā'īl ṣāhib is buried. The following account about him passes current:

About one hundred and fifty years ago, when the Dutch were in possession of these ports, a box was seen floating on the sea. When it touched the shore, people went near to it with a view to open it. But immediately it receded further off because of the approach of people contrariant to it. Then the Muslims went forward with reverent feeling, intoning *darūd*, and *marḥūm* and the box approached nearer the shore. Then they carried it on their shoulders and buried it. Whoever conveys greetings to this saint sincerely from his heart, he is blessed with a vision in sleep of the saint's handsome personality. Allāh knows better.

The villages that came on the way are:

Kuppūsittī-chāwārī is a village by the side of the *khārī* Tindalār on the south. It has some tiled houses and huts, three or four shops, one well and a *chatar*.

Warachkurī is adjacent to the village described above. It has a shop, a *chāwārī*, some huts, a *bāgh* and three or four wells. Shāh Jalāl Husaynī, a *faqīr*, is buried there.

Kūtehīrī, towards the south, has about one hundred houses including huts, one shop, two wells, and a few mango trees. A large number of cows are found here.

Kāsāgudī, on the south, has a *bāgh*, a well, some huts and shops; Kalattir also in the same direction has some houses, shops, one *bāgh*, two wells, and two roads lined with banian trees.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

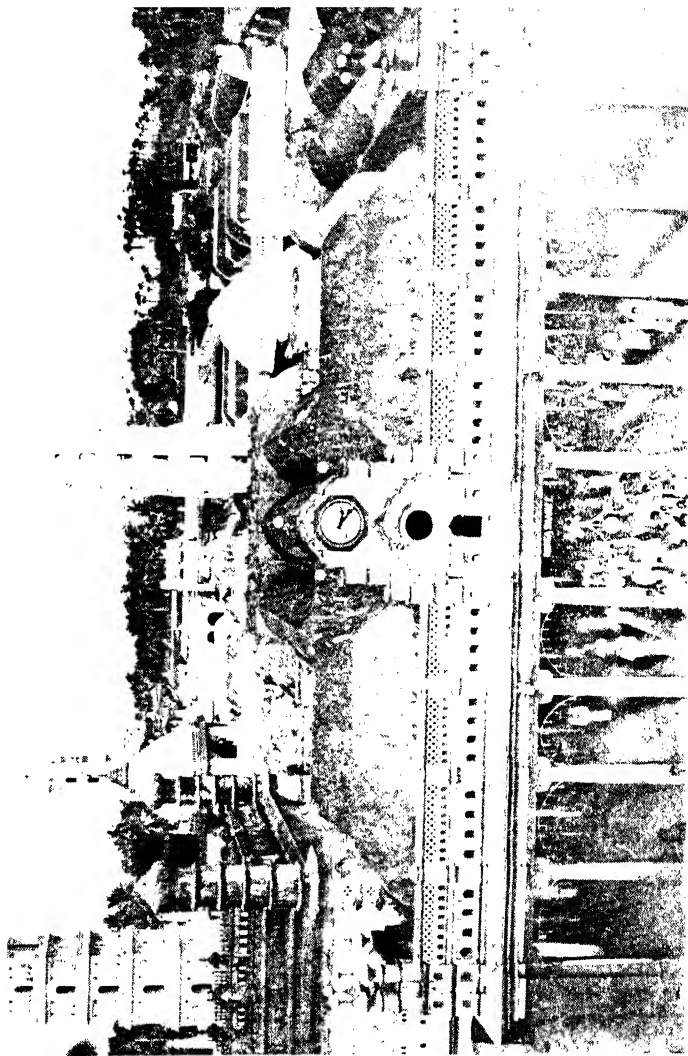
Kuwaypattū, on the south, has about one hundred huts including some tiled houses, one *chāwṛī*, three shops, three *bāghs* and three wells. It has a road with shady trees on either side.

Kāraykāl is a French port with as much of three-fourths of the population as found in Tarkambārī. It abounds in buildings, houses and shops. There are also a few *bāghs*. It has a big well by the side of which is the residence of the officer of that place together with armed *javāns*.

There lived at that place for a long time a *majdhūb* well known by the name of Imām Shāh Mastān. He was very old, hunch-backed, of short stature with dishevelled hair. The Nawwāb alighted from his *savārī* and went with his companions to pay a visit to that pious person. He stayed there in his presence for a while, offered gold and silver coins and when he took leave of the *majdhūb* he spoke indistinctly from which was ascertained the sense of the words "Have faith in Allāh". After about half an hour I also had the happiness to meet him. He gave me a fresh lemon, and placed his hand on the head, a gesture expressing *salām*. I felt honoured and then returned. The marks of saintliness are manifest in his face. As Muslims and non-Muslims swarm round him like ants around sugar, it is difficult to find one's way to get near the holy person.

Kushūn-chāwṛī, on the south, has fifteen huts, a shop, and a well; Agrīwattam is situated in south-easterly direction by the side of a river of sweet-water.

Tirmānāyampatan also known as Timrājpatan, but correctly Tirmalrāyanpatan is situated on the other side of the river. As one enters it he would come across the tomb of Sayyid 'Abdul-Qādir Yamīnī. The tomb is in a pukka building covered by tiles, and with four door ways. Tirmalrāyanpatan is a French port like that of Kāraykāl. It has some



THE DARGAH OF QUTBUL-AQTAB HAZRAT SAYYID 'ABDUL-QADIR
SIVHUL-JAMID AT NAGER, TANJORE DIST., S. INDIA

buildings and houses. There are a number of wells in the place. The *nāzim* of the place lives with armed *javān*. Wānchiyūr, on the south, has huts and tiled houses about a hundred in all, six shops and a well.

Tankachimanlawā, also known as Tankachimandafam. It was uninhabited in the beginning; when the sister of the Raja of Tanjore halted there on her way to Nāgūr to pay a visit to the holy saint there, it became an inhabited place. She built a *sarāi*, one or two sweet-meat shops, and two or three other shops. She formed the population of about ten houses. The word *tankachī* in the *arwi* language means sister; as the sister of the Raja populated the place, it became well known as *Tankachimandafam*. After a short distance from there comes the *khārī* of Nāgūr, very wide, long and deep. It is a very dangerous *khārī* impossible to cross it without a boat. It would throw into a fright even a courageous *sawūr*. When the Nawwāb got down near the *khārī*, an wooden bridge was put across it and every one, high and low, walked safely to the other side.

Although the Nawwāb is a ruler, he is so modest and unpretentious that none could be compared to him. The saying "Humility is the sign of godhead", goes well with his character. Out of veneration for the sacred place he alighted from his conveyance and walked over the distance of about a *kurōh* to his pavilion. Thus he attained, by the grace of Allāh, his long-cherished wish. May Allāh make him prosperous!

Now a brief description of the noble city of Nāgūr may be given as follows:

Nāgūr is a beautiful and well-planned town with strongly built houses, wells and delightful gardens; especially the compound of the exalted *dargāh*, the mosque, and the well,

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renowned as the *well of Sikandar*, are worthy of note. The small *bāgh* full of sweet-smelling flowers gives freshness to the brain and brightness to the eye. The *qubba* is majestic as heaven, and the gilded *kalas* on the top of it is bright as the full moon. There are also other buildings, the *kārkhānas* of the *bārgāh*, where kings bow down in respect, the celebrated *chhār-chawak*, the sitting-places of the four groups of *faqīrs*, and the tiny *gunbad* of Yusuf, who was brought up by the saint. The mosques in the compound with *ḥawẓs* are in good form. The four minarets of the *bārgāh* on all the four sides are famous for the height and beautiful structure. The shops selling precious stones in this area are sight worthy. The odour proceeding from the perfumers' tray cheerš up the mind. The fifth minaret outside the compound surpasses the seventh heaven in height, and the lamps there have the appearance of being stars in the sky. How far could I describe it! The tongue is reduced to extreme weakness, and the pen is laid prostrate. Considering the auspiciousness of the place, it is fit to be called Bāghdād. It is worthy of being called *Shāh-Jahānābād* (Delhi) considering the large gathering of people during the period of *urs*.

21st Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 9th, Muḥammad Şibghatullāh Mu'tamad Jang, the younger son of the late *Sharafu'l-Mulk Sharafu'd-Dawla Mawlawī Muḥammad Ghawth Kānān Bahādur Ghālib Jang*¹ was appointed to be *Şadrū's-şudūr* and presented with an embroidered *khilat*. On the same day Muḥammad Ali Markāy who had the honour of meeting the Nawwāb, was presented with a carnation-coloured *shāl*. Muḥammad Ali Markāy was

¹ He was the teacher to Aẓimu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part IV—Page 17. Madras University, 1944.

in charge of the management of the *dargāh* funds, and also discharged the duty of distributing the shares assigned to the *mujāwārs* of the *dargāh*. •

After finishing the *after-noon prayer* a big red flag with embroidery work was hoisted in a *mahādōl*, on behalf of the first *mahall*, Mukhtārūn-nisā Bēgam, and sent with paraphernalia to the exalted *dargāh*. This was raised aloft on the pillar of the minaret. The Nawwāb sent in that manner a similar flag on behalf of his new wife.

During the night of the 9th, the Nawwāb carried on his head a silver jar full of sandal wood paste, and walked reverently to the *dargāh* with his followers high and low and full paraphernalia. He was present near the holy tomb early before dawn when the paste of sandal wood was poured over it. Then he humbly presented a large sum of money as *nadhṛ*. He said the *early-morning prayer* at the mosque in the compound, built by his grand-father and returned to the *dargāh*. On the way a large crowd of men vied with one another in kissing his feet regarding him as a *murshīd-i-kāmil*.

When the Nawwāb paid a visit to the *dargāh* on another occasion in the course of his stay and returned to the compound, there was a large crowd of ten thousand men, Muslims and Hindus, eagerly looking forward to shake hands with him and kiss his feet. When the personal guard of the Nawwāb attempted to prevent the crowd from approaching him, his anger was inflamed and the guards stood apart. Then the men mixed freely and kissed the hand of the Nawwāb. When he came out of the compound, different kinds of conveyance such as *mahādōl*, *nālki* of azure colour presented by the Sultān, palanquin with embroidered work, *sukhsāwan* shaped like the mouth of a lion, gilded *sukhsāwan* and horses were ready waiting for him. But the Nawwāb did not use any one of these

out of reverence for the holy surroundings, and walked back to his pavilion followed by a multitude of people. As he approached the royal tent he placed his hand on the head of every one who followed him and conferred dignity, and then entered his pavilion. Thus he realized his long-cherished desire.

22nd Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 10th, after saying the *mid-day prayer*, he sat in a *sukhsāwan*, shaped like the mouth of a lion, and set out with his companions to the *dargāh*. He got down from his conveyance, outside the compound where a large crowd of spectators had collected. The Nawwāb experienced great difficulty in walking along with the crowd. After he paid a visit to the holy tomb, he said his *afternoon-prayer* in the mosque. There was a big crowd eager to catch a glimpse of the Nawwāb. The prayer over, the Nawwāb said *fātiḥa* and returned to his pavilion about the close of the day.

On the 11th, at about 9 A.M., the *majlis* for saying *fātiḥa* was arranged, and persons of rank were present. Faqīr Muḥammad ‘Ālim, and Pīr Muḥammad the senior *mujāwar* of the *dargāh* were each presented with a *torah* of two trays, and Muḥammad ‘Alī Markāy with a *torah* of five trays. *Ilāfiqs*, *darūdīs*, and *marolūd khawāns* were present from the 10th night to the 11th night waking all the time.

23rd Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 11th, after the *mid-day prayer*, the Nawwāb took his seat in a golden *sukhsāwan* along with his illustrious brother, and set out with the nobles and *jalaw* to pay a visit to the *dargāh*. The head *mujāwar* conferred special distinction on the Nawwāb and his brother by tying to their heads a white *dastār* as a mark of respect to royalty. This function over, the Nawwāb sat in a green *nālki* along with the prince

CH. I.— THE STORY OF THE FAQIR AT THE CHILLAHGAH

Mirzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur,¹ the grandson of Amīr Timūr Gūrgān Ṣāhib-i-qirān, and went out to see the *faqīr* who was placed as a *pīr-nashīn* at the *chillahgāh* of the saint on the coast. On that day the visit of the Nawwāb to the *chillahgāh* gave the appearance of a festive occasion. The story about the *faqīr* goes thus:

During the *‘urs* season, a *faqīr* of the *malang*² order, by name Khidmat ‘Alī Shāh, is seated on a square cushion spread on the identical spot where the saint departed this life, while a young boy of pre-puberty age, is made to sit in front of him to keep off the flies with a fan of peacock’s feathers. The *faqīr* is not given food or drink from the day he is seated on the cushion till the day he rises from there. But to keep him alive he is occasionally given two plantain fruits and two mouthful of milk. Glory be to Allāh, the *faqīr* has the wonderful power. He sits without stirring any of his limbs and looks like a picture on the wall.

On the afternoon of that day the *faqīr* is transported very carefully to avoid any mishap on account of the delicate state of his condition, to the *chillahgāh*. Then a pot full of milk dressed with rice is brought there and the leader of the party, Mirān Shāh strikes a blow to break open the pot. The *faqīr* is given a little of this milk and the rest of it is allowed to flow on the ground. The vast crowd assembled there rush rapidly like ant to the sugar, or fly to the honey desiring to get a portion of it which they deem a blessing.³ It is impossible

¹ For an account of Mirzā Ilāhī Bakhsh Bahādur, see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnātī*, Part IV, pp. 51-52. Madras University, 1944.

² The *Malang* or ‘robust’ are usually said to be followers of Jamanjatī, a disciple of Zinda Shāh Madār. For more particulars, see Crooke, *Herklot’s Islam in India*, 1921, p. 290.

³ For a detailed account of the Festival of the Saint Qādir Walī Ṣāhib, see Crooke, *Herklot’s Islam in India*, 1921, pp. 197-200.

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to control the crowd on that occasion. Every year thousands of people used to assemble there. This year, owing to the visit of the Nawwāb, the crowd was double the usual number. Such a vast crowd was not seen by any one on previous occasions.

The Nawwāb returned to the exalted *dargāh* from the *chillahgāh*. He said the *sun-set prayer* and *fātiḥā*. Then he arranged to place on the wall inside the *gunbad* the four *qitās*¹ which he got them written by calligraphists at the *dārul-amāra*, Madras. The writer of this book also composed eleven verses² in praise of Iḥāzrat Qādir Walī on the day of *urs*, and hung them on the door of the *qubba* exalted as heaven.

On the 12th, the Nawwāb presented 'Abdūl-Bāsīṭ K̄hān Bahādūr with a mourning *khilāt* and a white *shāl* when his wife passed away on the 10th.

24th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 12th, about the evening time, the Nawwāb sat in a *sukhsāwan* shaped like the mouth of a lion, and went to the *dargāh* where he had the happiness to say the prayer in congregation and pay a visit to the *dargāh*. He returned to the royal pavilion at about 9 P.M.

25th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the evening of the 13th, the Nawwāb got into a golden *sukhsāwan* and reached the *dargāh* where he said the prayer in congregation. He walked over to the *faqīr* the *pir-nashīn*, and others and gave them presents.

The *mujāwars*, as a mark of respect for the Nawwāb, presented him with a spotted *khilāt* purchased from the *dargāh* funds; they also tied to his head and waist a *dastār* and a

¹ For verses see the Appendix 1.

² For verses see the Appendix 2.

CH. I— NAWWAB VISITS THE DARGĀH WITH HIS WIVES

qamarband respectively. At about 9 P.M., he was present with his followers at the *majlis* got up for reading the entire *Qurān*. The *ḥāfiẓs* and others employed by the *sarkār* kept away engaged in reading the *Qurān*. The Nawwāb returned to pavilion at about mid-night.

26th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 14th, food was cooked in large quantity, and served to all people; alms were distributed; lamps and such other things necessary for *urs* were got ready for the holy place on behalf of the Nawwāb. He visited the *dargāh* walking after the *mid-day prayer* and thus carried out the *niyyat* of his younger days. * He presented the barber with an embroidered and spotted *khilat*, together with cash. He returned to his tent after mid-night.

27th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 15th, after *mid-day prayer* the Nawwāb rode to Nākāpātan with a brief paraphernalia by way of pleasure trip, accompanied by the Collector of the District. The Nawwāb returned to his tent in the night at about 9 P.M.

28th Feb. 1823 A.D.

On the 16th morning the Nawwāb paid a visit to the *dargāh* when the writer of this book was present there, said *fātiḥa* and went to the mosque to say prayers. He also said the *jumā* prayers in the mosque. Then after the *sun-set prayer* he visited the *dargāh* with the *maḥalls*. Thus except on the day of arrival and departure no day during his stay at the noble city passed without a visit to the holy *dargāh*. Whenever he went there he offered cash as *nadlir*. The income from the *bāghs* of Nattharnagar was assigned by the Nawwāb to meet the expenses of the *dargāh* and the *langar-khāna* month after month.

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Muḥammad Ālī Markāy who had the honour of receiving a carnation-coloured *shāl* from the Nawwāb, was again presented on the 16th with another *shāl* of the same kind, and one beautiful *khilāt* embroidered and marked with dots. Muḥammad Qāsīm, the foremost person among the *mujāwars*, was presented with a *shāl* of lac colour, the *tahṣildār* of the place with a white *shāl*, and the *kōtwāl* with a beautiful *dastār* marked with dots.

SECOND CHAPTER.

*The departure of the Nawwāb from the noble city of
Nāgūr to the ṣūba of Dārū'n-naṣr Nattharnakar*

Section 1.

1st March 1823 A.D.

By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, the Nawwāb paid a visit to the *dargāh* at about 8 o'clock in the morning of Saturday, the 17th, 1238 A.H. and stayed there till the time of *mid-day prayer*. After saying the prayer he sat in a golden *sukhsāwan* and started with his suite to the *manzil* Kīwālūr, at a distance of eight miles from the holy city, on the west, by the road opposite to the *dargāh*, while the army, lacking knowledge of this fact, took a longer route *via* Nākāpatan.

The villages that lay on the route taken by the army are:

Pāyancharī is a village with about fifty houses, six shops, two *bāghs* and five wells. There is a tomb associated with the name of Ismā'īl ṣāhib, and a graveyard.

Kārambārī is a village on the east with about forty houses. It has eight wells, four shops, one *chhatar*, and twenty-five garden plots owned by Europeans. There are two tombs, one of Arab ṣāhib, the other of Mubtalā Shāh. It is said that these two persons were the companions of the saint Qādir Walī ṣāhib of Nāgūr.

The *kachhri* of Mr. Cotton, the Collector of Tanjore, is at the extremity of this village.

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Winnīpālayam : The houses in this village are about five hundred in number, and they are formed on the eastern and western sides. There are thirty shops, four wells, three *bāghs* which belonged to the English, and ten *bāghs* to the temple and a *chalandarī*. At the extremity of the village there are two roads with shady trees on either side. The temple has a high *gōpuram* but not kept in good repair in many places. It is well known as Pudiwīlikōpuram. There are a number of temples in these villages ; they may not be described, for it is annoying to refer to them several times. But famous temples that lay on the way are mentioned in this book, because of their celebrity.

Nākāpatan, once a Dutch port, is now in possession of the English. It was a flourishing port in former times ; lately it lost its importance because the French were oppressive when they were in power. It was the usual practice from very old times to bring the sandal paste from Nākāpatan. But the French did not respect this custom. Consequently they were punished by the saint to such an extent that their name disappeared from this place like an image reproduced in water.

Many years after peace was concluded between the French and the English, a Governor of Phulcheri (Pondicherry) presented himself outside the compound of the exalted *dargāh* and sought permission to enter it. The *dargāh* servants asked him politely to remove the shoes, and then enter the *dargāh* bending his head in token of submission. The French Governor replied, " I know for certain that Qādir Wali, the saint, is powerful and of exalted rank. Our community was driven away from this region because of our disregard for him. This fact is now well-known." Then he submitted in great humility ten *hūn* as *nadh*r to the *dargāh*.

At present there are at Nākāpatan about five-thousand houses, sixty-shops, and thirteen wells. The Muslim population is inconsiderable; unbelievers of all castes live there in large numbers. The *qilā* on the sea-coast is in ruins. It is known that there is inside the *qilā* a small *gunbad* where Sayyid Mubārak Ḥusaynī is interred. There are also a few churches adjacent to the *qilā*. The gate of the *qilā* is imposing and grand; the bridge which leads to the *qilā* is very strong. A number of boats lie in the *khārī*.

Puttūr on the north, has huts and tiled buildings about one hundred in number, two shops, three gardens, two wells, and salt-works. The road is lined with trees on either side.

Manjākuplī on the north, has a mosque and two *takyas* of *faqīrs*. The number of houses is the same as found in the previous village, besides six gardens, three wells, and five shops.

Purwāchērī is a village with about five hundred houses situated on all four sides, fifteen shops, and five wells.

Shikkil: The road at the entrance to this place is zigzag, but broad inside. There are a number of cocoanut trees; houses and huts are about seven hundred, besides a *chhatar*, five shops, two gardens and five wells.

Chikkīpūlam on the south, has twenty-five houses, one shop, three wells and a *mandaf*. Wild cows, and mango trees are found in large numbers. There are two roads lined with holy-fig-trees.

Ilyūr on the west, has a mosque and two grave yards. In one of these Sayyid Ḥanāyatullāh Darwēsh, a companion of the saint Qādir Walī of Nāgūr is interred. In another, there are two graves of *majdhūbs*: one is Muḥāmmad Mastān, another is Mirān Ḥusayn.

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Ilyūr is one of the sixteen villages endowed by Pratap Singh, the Raja of Tanjore, to the *dargāh* at Nāgur. This village has houses and huts, about one hundred in all, ten shops, ten wells and a *ḥallikūdām*, which in the *arwī* language means a *maktab* for Hindu boys.

Kadamanūr, on the north, has houses and huts about forty in number, four wells and a shop.

Kīwālūr, on the west, has two hundred and fifty houses, twelve shops, two wells, one *chhatar* and two gardens.

The villages that lay on the route taken by the Nawwāb are:

Wadakaray has ten houses, one shop, and a big temple with a spacious *bāgh* and a well.

Vaynirip has some warehouses of Sindhī merchants ; Parimkadamanūr has about sixty-houses, two shops and five wells ; Taymangalam has twelve houses, two shops, and three wells and Puliyūr has thirty-five houses. The road from Chikkīpūlam, the ninth village on the Nākāpatan line, meets at Puliyūr.

Section 2.

2nd March 1823 A. D.

By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, the Nawwāb sat in a *sukhsāwan* and set out from his encampment at Kīwālūr at mid-night of the 18th with a select group of his followers to say *fātiḥa* at the holy *dargāh* of Nāgur and reached there exerting himself to the utmost because of his great faith and devout feeling. After saying the *early-morning prayer* at the *dargāh* he returned to his pavilion in Kīwālūr.

On the morning of the 19th at about 7-30, he got into a *sukhsāwan* shaped like the mouth of a lion and started with

paraphernalia from Kīwālūr to the *manzil* Amyāpan at distance of thirteen miles. He arrived there at noon-day.

The sepulchral monuments and the villages noticed the way may be written:

Ūrāchērī is on the south-west. There are at the entrance to this village two graves under a thatched roof: one is of Pīr Quṭbu'd-Dīn, and another of Sayyid Muḥammad Sharīf his *khalīfa*. There are, in the village, about fifty huts, one well, two *bāghs*, and six shops.

Kurkutī on the west, is connected with Kūtūr. At the entrance to it is the *gunbad* of Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Ḥasan Qādirī, known as Pīr Ghayb ṣāhib. The following account is given about him.

When Nawwāb Dhū'l-Faqār Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang 'Ālamgīrī, the *ṣūbadār* of the Carnatic arrived in this region to settle with the Raja of Tanjore, he gave orders to clear the land. The workmen set to work by cutting down the trees and levelling the surface. In the course of this work, the instrument came upon the feet of that pious body deposited in the earth there and blood began to spring up. The workmen ran forth in confusion and related the incident to the master who, after hearing the news, became white as a sheet. He was much worried the whole day. In this state of uneasiness he went to sleep and saw in dream a man who said, "My name is Sayyid Ḥasan Qādirī. I have my home here for the past several hundreds of years. Why did you inflict a wound in my leg?" Then the Sayyid informed the Nāwwāb how he was buried there, and also told him that flowers would be seen at the place where he was interred. Early in the morning Nawwāb Dhū'l-Faqār Khān Bahādur hastened to the jungle and recognised the particular spot where flower was kept. He made arrangements for the building of a tomb and a *gunbad* on that

spot. The Raja of Tanjore endowed twenty-five *kānis* to the *dargāh*.

When Muḥammad ‘Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I girded up his loins to subjugate Tanjore, he paid a visit to the *dargāh* and restored it to sound condition. He also had an idea of erecting a mosque there. After the subjugation of Tanjore, the Nawwāb gave orders to Sayyid ‘Aṣim Khān Bahādur Mubāriz Jang and Muḥammad Najīb Khān Bahādur Sālār Jang, the ministers, and Raḥmān ‘Alī Khān, the *nā’ib* of the *ṣūba* of Dāru’n-naṣr that they should arrange to build a mosque and entrust Karīmū’d-Dīn Khān, the teacher of the Nawwāb and a devout man, with the management of the mosque and the lands. In the meanwhile times changed, and in the course of transactions through Lord Pigot, the land came into the possession of the Raja of Tanjore. After a short time the Raja died and his son succeeded him. As a result of these changes, the twenty-five *kānis* originally endowed as *in‘ām* lands by the Raja of Tanjore got reduced and now only five *kānis*, are left for the maintenance of the *gunbad*. Of these, two *kānis*, which lie at a short distance from the tomb, are cultivable, and the *dargāh* is maintained by the *khūdīms* out of the income from these lands.

Opposite to this tomb is the grave of Sayyid Muḥammad Shahīd. It is said that he, in obedience to the command of Muḥammad ‘Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, went from Nattharnagar to Nākāpatan, and fought against the French, and fell as martyr. As per the truth contained in the verse of the Qurān, “ Think not of those who are slain in the way of Allāh as dead”, the headless body emitting blood continued to ride on the horse back and when it reached this *gunbad*, the *khuddāms* there buried it. For, he had announced to the men in charge of the *gunbad*, just before he left the place to fight against the French, that he would be slain in a

week's time by the enemy of the Faith, but would be buried in the neighbourhood of the *gunbad*. His assertion became true. On the third day after his martyrdom, his head reached that place and joined with the body. May Allah bestow mercy on him!

Tilāpārī on the west, has forty houses, six shops, three wells, and a *chhatar* with a *bāgh*. There are two graves of the *faqīrs* of the *malaug* order: one is of Jaman Shāh and the other of Dāwal Shāh. These two were the companions of the saint Qādir Walī of Nāgur, and later on became the attendants at the gate of the *dargāh*. There is no endowment for the upkeep of these graves.

Pannapalam on the west, has a *bāgh*, fifteen huts, two shops, and three salt-works.

Adigamangalam in the same direction, has houses and huts about seven hundred in number, thirty shops, and six *chāvri*. Of the seven hundred houses, two hundred belong to Muslims who speak the Tamil language.¹ These Muslims erected *manduwā* on the high road to welcome the Nawwāb, with feeling of love for the ruler, a brother in the Faith. Great sorrow came upon me ever since I left Nāgur, (a heavenly city in miniature), for every village we happened to pass through contained a large number of temples, from where the sound of gongs, and bells greeted our ears. No muslim accosted us with salutation. Praise be to Allāh! I reached this *mansil* and saw a large number of Muslims.

Kidārākundān, on the west, is in the *'ilāqa* of Tirwālūr. It is also the seat of a *taḥṣildār*. There are seventy houses, three shops, two salt-works, a *chāvri*, three wells, and two *bāghs*.

¹ The word Labābin is used to denote the Tamil Muslims.

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The river Kaprankāl flows to the north of it. The *taḥṣildārs* of the two districts were present there to supply provisions to the army. These officers were honoured with presents by the Nawwāb.

The *taḥṣildārs* were present in all the *manzils* to welcome the Nawwāb and accompanied the *jalaṭ* as far as the limits of their jurisdiction. The Nawwāb honoured them with presents according to rank.

Vijipuram is on the north-west. The river Kaprankāl passes through this place. There are twenty-five houses, shops, two *bāghs* and a well. On the southern side, and away from the high road, there is the *gunbad* of Sayyid Sulṭān Makhdūm, a descendant of Ḥaḏrat Sulṭān Ḥasan Sanjar Khwājah Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī. By the side of the *gunbad* there is another tomb. Besides, the well-known tomb of Sayyid Faqīr Muḥammad is at a little distance from them.

Tirwālūr is on the north, a little removed from the high way. Unlike other villages this is densely populated. There are about three thousand houses, one hundred shops, some wells, two tanks, *bāghs* and a number of temples. Muslims are few in number. There are two villages in that area; one is Kūshāl-pālayam. It has the tomb of Ḥaḏrat Tāj Firāq who belongs to the *badan shāhi* group. The graves of Hidāyat Shāh of *arzān shāhi* group, and Yār Shāh of *ḥusayn shāhi* group are on either side of that tomb. The three orders mentioned above have the common characteristics of the basic institution established by Ḥaḏrat Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī. The origin of the name *Tāj Firāq* is not clear. I believe it might be that this pious person renounced everything in the world and donned the crown of the love of Allāh. Hence he became famous as *Tāj Firāq*. Outside the compound there is the grave of Sulṭān Rūmī, well known as the grave measuring twelve yards in length. This was verified and found correct. Allāh knows better,

There is another graveyard in Kūshālpālayam where Sh Abdu'l-Razzāq and Shāh Abdu'l-Fattāh are interred.

Kuṛikyālpālayam is another village in Tiruwālūr. There is a mosque in the compound where the graves of Sayyid Makhdūm Hājī and Sayyid Makhdūm Jahān Shah the descendants of Ḥazrat Makhdūm Jahāniyān Jahān are found. The Nawwāb paid a visit to all the tombs. The inhabitants of these two villages are mostly Muslims.

Wipīmal is a village on the north-west. Beyond that there are two or three villages, and then comes the river Cauvery. The river Ūṛpanī passes by the village Wipīmal. There is a big bridge across that river, connecting with Tirwālūr. Wipīmal has about fifty houses and a well.

Tandal is situated in the same direction. It has fifteen houses, three shops, a garden and an *ābdār-khāna*. This village and a few other villages already noticed, have narrow roads which cannot take in two palanquins abreast.

After passing along, comes a big *chhatar* and a well. Rāmsāmī Mudliyar is the hereditary owner of these. He also has the *pattah* of plough lands that could be ploughed by sixty teams¹ of oxen in a year. The *chhatar* is built for the comfort of travellers.

Amyāpan also Ammaypan and Ammābichakṛā is on the north west. At the entrance to this place is a *chhatar* with a well, built for the comfort of travellers. At a short distance further, there is another *chhatar* established by Rām a resident of Chennapatān. There are in this village houses and huts about two hundred in number, thirty shops, four *bāghs* and five wells.

¹ One team consists of two bulls harnessed together.

Section 3.

3rd March 1823 A.D.

By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, on the 19th the Nawwāb sat in a *sukhsāwan* of black colour about the time of sun-rise and set out to Nīṛāmangalam at a distance of twelve miles. He arrived there at about 9 A.M.

The villages on the way are :

Mūndānūr has about twenty Hindu houses and a Brahman *maḥalla* of about forty houses. There is a big garden with a *chhatar* and a well.

Pattarāpīrpū has twenty houses, two shops, a well and a *chāwṛī*; Kuttawāsāl has a big garden with a well, and three houses; Tirwāsāl has fifty houses, three wells, and a *chhatar*; There are about fifty houses, two shops, four wells and a *mandaf* in Kuṛāchēri. An excellent *mandaf*, a well, a *chhatar*, thirty houses, two shops, and a *bāgh* are noticed in the village Kalpīriyam. The river Winnār flows on the western side of this village.

The limit of Tirwālūr comes to an end at Kalpīriyam and thence begins the limit of the Manyārguṛī taluk.

Nīṛāmangalam is a densely populated place. There are one thousand houses, one hundred shops, a *chhatar* maintained by the Raja of Tajāwar for the needy wayfarers, eight wells, some *bāghs*, a *chāwṛī* and a *mandaf*. A river also flows by the side of it. The atmospheric conditions produced by heat was very unbearable; every one was feeling out of sorts under the stress of the hot weather and prayed for rainfall. There was a shower as though God answered the prayer of the travellers sick of heat; consequently it became cool and pleasant and the stay in the *manzil* was very enjoyable. To the right of the encampment was the river, to the left were green meadows, and the way in between was narrow on account of the luxuriant

growth of paddy crops. In addition to this, the huge course, owing to the arrival of the Nawwāb with *maḥall* army, bag and baggage, equipments and provisions, was wonderful sight to see. May Allāh increase the prosperity of the Nawwāb!

The table was spread after the arrival of the Nawwāb. He sat with his happy brother, companions and the English *sardārs* and partook of the royal repast. There were present Ṣharaful-Umarā Bahādur the senior uncle of the Nawwāb, Najmul-Mulk Bahādur, Mīrzā Muḥammad Amīn'ud-Dīn Bahādur, one of the grandsons of Mu'izzu'd-Dīn Pādshāh of Hindustān, I'tizādu'l-Mulk son of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I by his *nikāh* wife, Khurshīdu'l-Mulk a grandson of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Amīr'ud-Dawla a grandson of the sister of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Suhrāb Jang son of Iḥaydar Jang, A'zamul-Mulk, Ṣafdar Jang, Iḥāfiẓ Yār Jang, and the humble author of this book, who is insignificant as *madd-i-hisāb*. Among the English the following were present at the table: the Government agent Major Macdonald, Colonel Munro, Captain Jafras, Officer Dixon Bell, and six *sardārs* of the battalion. All these men were also companions at the table on the following day. The Hindu dancers who followed the *jalaw* of the Nawwāb from the previous *manzil* as far as the Manyārguḥī Taluk, performed dance. The Nawwāb honoured them with presents. The *majlis* was dissolved in the afternoon. Then the Nawwāb retired to *maḥall-sarā*.

Mr. Cotton was presented with a *torah* of seven trays.

When everything was packed ready for continuing the journey, it rained violently from that afternoon. There was such an outpouring that the tents were all surrounded by water. The people were put to great inconvenience. This continued till the 21st.

Section 4.

6th March 1823 A.D.

On the 22nd, at about sun-set, the Nawwāb rode to Pūndī, at a distance of twelve miles. He arrived there at about 10 P.M.

The villages on the way are :

Adnūr on the west, has a few huts. At a short distance from there, on the road side are situated a well and a *mandaf*. Two rivers Kūryār and Pāmniyār flow between the village Adnūr and Niḥāmangalam.

Kūḥkōyal, on the north-west has a few huts and a Brahman *maḥalla*.

Ammapēttah on the north, has a mosque, a graveyard, *ābdār-khāna*, five hundred houses, fifty shops, and seven *bāghs*. Muslims call this place as Panrawāsal. It is said that this place was populated by Dīpā Bāy, the wife of Raja Pratap Singh. Outside the town there are two tombs. One is that of Sayyid Munirū'd-Din Ḥusayn Qādirī. He came to this place from Farkhunda Bunyād Ḥaydarābād, about a hundred years ago, and died here. The name of Shāh Ja'far is associated with the other tomb which has for its maintenance some *kānis* of land with mango trees. It has also a well.

Wadayārkaḥī is a small village on the west. At the entrance to it is the grave of a Sayyid known as Bāwā Ṣāhib. About sixty-years ago he encountered with the *kallars*, a community of unbelievers, and died as a martyr at the age of fifty years.

Shālīmangalam on the west, has huts and houses about one hundred in number, two tanks, and three wells.

Pūndī on the west, has twenty houses and two or three wells. A small river flows by the side of it.

Section 5.

7th March 1823 A.D.

On the 23rd at about 4-30 P.M. the Nawwāb sat in a gold *sukhsāwan* and set out followed by a few palanquins Nawwāb-chhatar at a distance of ten miles in the vicinity Tajāwar. In the course of the trip to Nawwāb-chhatar, A'ẓan Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV, got down from the *sukhsāwan* and rode on horse back for the rest of the journey.

The villages on the way are :

Milmāthānam on the north, has twenty houses, and five wells; Raṭṭulīrī on the south, has sixty houses, ten wells, and two shops.

Mārānman Kūyal on the west, has a *takya* of *faqīr*, about one thousand houses, seventy shops, two wells, and a lake extending as far as the town.

There is difference of opinion about the name Tajāwar. There are different pronounciations. *Tajāwar*, *Tanjāwar*, *Tanjāūr* and *Chanjāwar*. *Tajāwar* is the name found in official records. When Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I subjugated it through his son Amīr-ul-Umarā Bahādur, he gave it the name *Qādīr-nakar*. It is a well-inhabited town. Its Rajah is one of the main supporters of the Emperor at Delhi, and also his *manṣabdār*. Among the tributary states in the whole of the Carnatic, the Mahrattas cannot be compared to this Rajah, because the income from Tajāwar is nearly a lakh of rupees. Now it is under the control of the Company, who pay one-fifth of the income to the present Rajah Sharafoji, as they do to other rulers.¹ It was the general talk that the Rajah would meet the Nawwāb, but owing to some reason or other the Rajah did not meet him. Yet the Rajah did not fail to observe the etiquette.

¹ This refers to rulers like the Nawwāb of the Carnatic who is also paid one fifth of the income.

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As soon as the royal *sawārī* entered his boundary a salute of guns was fired in honour of the Nawwāb's arrival, and the flag was hoisted. The company troops and those of the Rajah together with drummers lined the two sides of the road and gave warm welcome to the Nawwāb. The *tahşıldārs* and others accompanied the *jalaw* as per usual till the time of the Nawwāb's arrival to the *manzil*. In the evening the Nawwāb alighted from his *sawārī* and said the *sun-set prayer*. Then he got on a horse-back and marched slowly on the road lighted up by torches. He arrived at his pavilion at about 8 P.M. A large crowd was present to catch a glimpse of the Nawwāb.

The *sawārī* did not pass through the town. It went alongside of the fort. A brief description of the fort may be given as follows:

The road by the side of the fort was very spacious gladdening the mind. It could easily take in fifty-thousand troops, nay double that number. Although it was well-known by the name *Nawwāb-chhatar*, yet the truth of it is there is neither a *sarā* nor a *chāwrī*. Its real name is *Lachah tope*. *Tope* in the *arwī* language means a cluster of trees. As *Lachah Bāy*, one of the *‘ilāqadārs* of the Rajah, had his encampment, it came to be known as *Lachah tope*. It is in the *‘ilāqa* of *Mānuspēttah* which has some huts, a *mandaf* built by the Rajah, and a well, deep and dark one fit to be a pit for sinners. The huts are at a distance from the highway. As per usual the tents were pitched at this *manzil*, under the supervision of *Mawlawī Mīr Muḥammad Şāliḥ Bukhārī*, *muftī-i-lashkār*, an intelligent man of unflinching taste. The Nawwāb's tent was decorated with printed *bānāt* and *farsh* of uniform colour which looked attractive. The lamps on the pillars, and the chandeliers with crystal glasses hung in several places looked as stars in a dark night. The adornment of the

throne with gold embroidery, and red *kāshānī* velvet, under shamyana to match with the throne added to the magnificence and grandeur.

The Begam-mother, the exalted *maḥall*, and the prince who went from Nīrāmangalam to pay a visit to the *darḡah*, reached this *manzil* a day after the arrival of the Nawwāb. They all stayed there for three more days on account of rains.

On the 24th the Nawwāb honoured the *taḥṣildār* with presents of a red *shāl*, and a *māhtābī būṭahdār* turban.

On the morning of the 25th the Nawwāb had breakfast with others. On the 26th night arrangements were made for a *majlis* to celebrate the *urs* of Amīru'l-mu'minīn Abu Bakr-al-Ṣiddīq, the most noble person after the Prophet of Islām. Two or three tents were pitched in the open area in front of the royal tent and all his distinguished companions, whether *sunnīs* or *shī'īs* were assembled there. Those who were *sunnīs* (may Allāh help them for ever) attained great happiness. The *shī'īs* had to put up with it on account of their dread for the Nawwāb, a descendant of Iḥzrat Fārūq-i-A'zam namely Amīru'l-mu'minīn 'Umar-ibn al-Khaṭṭāb.

Men following different arts and crafts in that place came to the pavilion with things suitable for giving as present to the Nawwāb, who honoured them all with gifts according to rank. For example the *ḥattārs* exhibited their art and ingenuity by presenting various nosegays of sweet scented flowers. Fireworks giving spectacular effects were displayed.

During the Nawwāb's stay at this *manzil*, the Resident, namely the Company wakīl residing at Tajāwar and his doctor paid a visit to the Nawwāb who honoured them with *ḥṭr* and *pāndān*.

*Section 6.***13th March 1823 A.D.**

On the 28th, at about 6-30 A.M. the Nawwāb took his seat in a *nālkhī* with his fortunate brother, and, followed by the *jalarw*, set out to Sinkāpatrī at a distance of thirteen miles. He arrived there about 10 A.M. The Rajah of Tajāwar arranged to fire a salute of three guns at the time of departure. The cannoniers made salutations to the Nawwāb by movements of their swords in accordance with the prescribed rules.

Two villages lay on the way. Pulyārpattī on the south-west, has houses covered with tiles and thatch about hundred in number, three small shops, and a well. Ballam, or Wallam is situated on the north-west. At this place was a fort before the time of the subjugation of Tajāwar. It was pulled down completely, yet the ditch is there giving indications of the fort that existed before. Contiguous to it is a graveyard in debris, and the names of those buried are not known. But there is a grave with stones heaped on it. This mound was built by one Tawakkul Shāh during his own lifetime. After its completion he entered it and gave orders to close the tomb completely. What became of him no one knew. This is opposed to *shari'at* and no one should follow this example. Yet these are practices of people who have attained perfection, and they may not be criticised.

Sinkāpatrī, also known as Chanjīpattī, and Sinkpattī, is situated on the south. It has a *takya* of *faqir*, fifty huts, ten shops, two tanks and two wells. The inhabitants in this district are mostly *kallars*; they are harsh *kāfirs* and marauders. After his followers had settled in the camp, the Nawwāb proclaimed to all his servants that the place is infested by thieves and every one must carefully keep watch all night.

Section 7.

13th March 1823 A.D.

On Thursday the 29th, at about 7 A.M. the Nawwāb his seat in a *nālki* presented by the Sulṭān and set out with the usual paraphernalia to Tāwākūdī, well-known as Butwākārī, at a distance of twelve miles. He arrived there at about 10 A.M. The land on the way was rich in cultivation without houses for human habitation. Only one village *Shānārpattī* by name, came in view after leaving the last *mansil*. *Shānārpattī* has twenty houses, one or two shops, and a well. No house was sighted after this village. Two tanks by name Rāywināmpattī tank, and Tirwalāpattī tank were seen at bow shot from the highway. There were also two wells at a distance of one *kurōh*. The Wālāwindānkūtī tank was contiguous to the *mansil*.

Tāwākūdī is a village on the west; it has huts, and houses about two hundred in all, four shops, eighteen tanks, and two wells.

Mr. Shanktan, the Collector of Nattharnakar who has his jurisdiction from Tāwākūdī as far as Talūr had an interview with the Nawwāb at this village, and he was honoured with presents oī *itr*, *pān* and such other things as per usual. A *tōrah* of seven trays of food was sent from the *bakāwal-khāna* to the collector's camp. In all the *mansils* the Collectors in each district presented themselves before the Nawwāb and paid their respects to him.

Section 8.

14th March 1823 A.D.

On the morning of the 30th at about 5-30 A.M. the Nawwāb, Defender of the Faith, sat in a golden *sukhsāwan* and set out to Nattharnakar, the *dārūl-amāra* of olden times, situated at a distance of twelve miles from the previous

manzil. The Nawwāb was followed by all his companions seated in palanquins, *sawārs*, and such other paraphernalia which were present at the time of his departure from Madras.

In the course of the journey that day the village *Shūlā-mādēwī* was sighted on the way. It has sixty houses, two shops, two wells, two tanks, and a rivulet which flows either from a river or a tank. The name of the rivulet is *Kūnā-kaṛī*. Other villages like *Nawalpat*, *Kuttapat*, *Warhīnarī* lay on either side of the way.

When the sun rose to a spear height in the sky, the Nawwāb alighted at a place near the *Kōh-Panma'lah* famous as *Bhangār-konda* among the eminent men. The embroidered *khilāt* of high value worn by the Nawwāb that day and also the ornaments set with jewels, emitted such bright rays of light that the world illuminating sun felt depressed. The *dastār* made of golden thread with a *sarpēch* studded with precious gems, and a *pargīr-jīghā* also revealed the refined luxury. After he alighted from the *sukhsāwan*, the Nawwāb rode a horse for a short distance. Then he got into a *Wālājāhī* green *āmārī*. His happy brother, who also wore a *sarpēch* and a *jīghā* set with jewels, sat on his own knees in the *āmārī*, and waved the *mōrchāl* before the Nawwāb. As soon as the *sawārī* reached the boundary of the *ṣūba*, a salute of three guns was fired from the fort, and the flag also was hoisted. The crowd of people collected at the boundary to see the tamasha increased to such an extent by the time the Nawwāb and his suite reached the *qilā* and the *dārūl-amāra* that there was no space to move about. In addition to this colonel *McLear*, the acting general, with a regiment of troopers armed with swords, two battalions of *jawāns* furnished with arms, a regiment of soldiers armed with muskets together with *sardārs* of the English army, numbering more than a hundred, and sepoy's carrying flags of

different colours, arrayed themselves on either side of the road in the area from Arūskālwāh up to the gate of the fort for presenting the guard of honour to the Nawwāb. In addition to the western music, they also played on musical instruments like *mānandnī*, *shabābah*, *balbān*, *daf*, *alghosa*, *tanbūr*, *rāndhōl*, which soothened the sorrowful mind and gave peace. In brief the Nawwāb entered the fort at about 10 A.M., through the New-Gate known as Farangi-Gate, in great pomp worthy of his position. The humble author of this book and some other persons who were present at the *majlis* submitted *nadhīr* to the Nawwāb congratulating him on his coming to the *dārul-amāra* of his ancestors after the lapse of three generations, and shedding radiance on this forgotten place.

A brief account of the place may be given here. This *ṣūba* was known in olden times as Tirsarpūr. In the course of time this name became corrupt as Trichinopoly. It is said that in ancient days Tirchila, an execrable monster with three heads, who was a brother of Rawan with ten heads, had the sway over this country. No human being could oppose him. But as per the saying of the Prophet, "Islam will be elevated and cannot be subdued", the Faith took root by the efforts of Hazrat Natthar Walī. The monster was slain and sent to the house of perdition. His image namely *but-ling* worshipped by the unbelievers was cut and the head was separated from the body. A portion of the body went into the ground. Over that spot is the tomb of the Walī, shedding radiance till this day. The author of this book who narrates truth has heard this story in his young age from elders. Praise be to Allāh ! I had the opportunity to visit this place now in the company of the Nawwāb, my master. I see the place illuminated by the light of Islām. The story is very long and the narration of it will swell into a book.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

In the whole of the Carnatic Pāyanghāt, Trichinopoly is the second city after Madras. Trichinopoly is well populated; it is blessed with associations of many saints, *‘ālims*, *ṣālihs*, *shaykhs* and *faqīrs* who gave up the ghost there. The details about them will be recorded after the account of the city is given.

The *ṣūba* passed into the hands of the company in the year 1216 A.H. (1801 A.D.) after the death of ‘Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. The collector of Trichinopoly caused census to be taken at every house in the Fort area and the adjoining villages. It was ascertained that the population was a lakh and a few thousands, and the shops about a thousand. The *qilā* is very extensive and could accommodate a fourth of the entire population. The high Tāyman hill encircles the fort and makes it formidable. This hill was the scene of some miracles by the saint Natthar Walī.

The fort is characterized as *Sadd-i-Sikandarī* by Niẓāmūl-Mulk Niẓāmū’d-Dawla Sayyid Aḥmad Khān Bahādur Naṣīr Jang Shahīd Āṣaf Jāh II. The story of it is as follows:

During the days when Nawwāb Shamsū’d-Dawla Ḥusayn Dōst Khān Bahādur Ghazanfar Jang known as Chandā Ṣāhib had the upper hand, Muḥammad ‘Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, then styled as Sirāju’d-Dawla Bahādur Maṅṣūr Jang, was in a difficult position requiring succour. So he wrote an *arẓī* to Āṣaf Jāh II seeking his assistance. In reply to that an *‘ināyatnāma* was sent on the top of which Āṣaf Jāh wrote in his own hand thus: “If the *qilā* be of wax, and the *qilādār* be a woman, its destruction will be by means of needle, and the fort can hold its own for a period of six months. What assistance is needed for a man like you who is a Bahādur, a son of Bahādur, who possesses the fort of Trichinopoly which is like a *Sadd-i-Sikandarī* and a victorious army? It is possible to hold your ground for many years.”

Trichinopoly is a beautiful city with different kinds of *bāghs* and delightful buildings. The Government *bāghs* alor number eighteen. Some of these are: Murtaẓā-bāgh, Ḥasa bāgh, Natthar-bāgh, Munawwar-bāgh, Anwar-bāgh, Amīr-bā Bāgh-i-Najī-bullāh Khān, Bāgh-i-Muṭtabir Khān, and Sinkar-bāgh. *Bāghs* such as these are very beautiful and full of freshness.

The buildings old and new are about twenty in number. Some of them are: Jahān-numā, a very high building striving for superiority with heaven; Khalīfa-maḥall, Rōshan-bangla, and Mahall-Farshbānātī. Chukka-Vilāsam is a house built by the Rajas of olden times. It is still very strong in spite of the lapse of time and the buildings of our days cannot be compared with that.

The mosques inside and outside the *qilā* are about twenty in number. Especially the Masjid-i-Muḥammadī is built of stone during the days of Muḥammad Āli Khān Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh I under the supervision of Quṭbūd-Dawla Ḥasan Āli Khān the *jāgīrdār* of Machhliṭatan, who was then in the service of the *sarkār*. It is an exquisite structure. In the *ṣaḥn* is constructed a broad and a long *ḥawẓ*. Water spouts from the middle of the *ḥawẓ*, while the crowd of fishes in the water present an wonderful view before the spectator. The *madrāsas* are situated on one of the sides of the mosque in the second floor, which is so high that one can easily see from there the tamasha in the *dārūl-amāra*, *charḥk* and on the high road. It chanced that the author of this book had his residence in the *madrasa* and he enjoyed himself well. By the grace of Allāh, on one side was the mosque, and on the other the *dārūl-amāra* of the Defender of the Faith. The author of this book could say the prayers five times a day in congregation, and also derive all advantages by his stay contiguous to the royal residence. In addition, the high road was

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near at hand and he could witness every tamasha. May Allāh, exalted be He, grant all blessings to our ruler.

Two big rivers flow outside the fort. One is the Cauvery and the other is the Coleroon. There are two small towns in between the two rivers, one is Srirang, and the other is Jhangīr. These are centres of worship for the Hindus who venerate them as Sūmnāt and Banāras. The Hindus are loud in their praises of these temples. It is beyond description. As Islām discountenances these ideas I do not record them.

I proceed now to give an account of holy persons who repose eternally in that city.

Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī.

His full appellation is Sayyid Bābā Muṭahharu'd-Dīn Sarmast Ṭabl-i-'Ālam. He is a resident of Istanbūl, the capital city of the *ḵhalifa*, being one of the *ḥākim*s of the place. His surnames number ninety-nine. When he arrived here seven hundred men in palanquin formed his retinue. He is a saint, in the lineal succession of eight descents from Ḥaẓrat Imām Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn. Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī put down disbelief in this land with the strength of the Faith; his miracles and saintliness are much talked of in all parts of this country.

Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī is the disciple of Ḥaẓrat Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardy. Natthar Walī passed away on the 15th of Ramazān of the year 673 A.H.(1) Every one, high and low, believes that nine hundred years have elapsed since his demise. Some of the *mujāwars* argue on this point, and have altercation with each other. But it is a mistake to wrangle on that point.

(1) See Appendix for the chronogram bringing out the date of his death.

If I were to attempt to describe the miracles of Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī, it will swell into a book.

His *gunbad* is situated outside the *qila* adjoining the New-Gate known as *Farangī-Gate*. The extensive *pac* fields on all sides are a sight to see. Ārūskālwa which branches out from the Cauvery flows by the side of the gate. The compound of the *dargāh* is very extensive; it has the holy vault, lodgings for the four orders of *faqīrs*, a *sarā*, a mosque, a well, a number of graves on sides, a large *ṣahn* and two *naqqārkhānas*, one for the saint and the other for Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

There are four graves inside the *gunbad*:

One is the grave of Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī; another is the grave of Ḥaẓrat Shams Gōyān, that is Khwājā Tāsh, a disciple of the same *pīr* and a companion of the *walī*. Both these graves are enclosed with brass railings adorned with silver works. At the foot of these are the graves of ‘Abdu’l-Raḥmān Bhandārī, the distributor of alms to the *faqīrs*, and of Kūrmāmā Jaknī, the daughter of the Raja who believed in the mission of the *walī* and embraced the Faith. By her side a parrot is interred. It was fostered either by the *walī* or by the princess.

Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Faṭḥullā Nūrī.

He is interred at the foot of the fort-wall above the ditch. A small window, one and a half cubits in size is made inside the tower to get a view of the tomb. The way to the tomb is either through the ditch which is always full of water, or across the the wall which is one cubit broad. During the rainy season the transit through the ditch is very difficult.

The facts related about him will make a long story. Some hold the view that he is the contemporary of Natthar Walī, while others believe that he came after the *walī*. Yet there is

no doubt whatever that he was interred there before the erection of the fort. His grave is lost sight of during the passage of time. When preparations were made to erect the fort-wall, the workmen dug below the ground-level and in the course of turning up ground with the spade, they sighted blood instead of earth. The unbelievers did not understand the meaning of this, and put up the wall, and returned home in the evening. Next morning when they went to the fort, they found the wall in ruins. This happened successively for three days. Vijaya Ranga Chokkanāth Nāyik, the Raja of the day who belonged to the Rāchīwār community, felt helpless and went to the spot in great humility and made a vow that if the wall should stand erect, he would build a tomb and endow lands for its maintenance. As the admission of helplessness is pleasing to all, especially to the Almighty, the wall erected on that day stood firm. The Raja also fulfilled his vow. He saw a vision where the saint appeared and disclosed to the Raja the particulars about his name, the date of his death and the particular Order of *faqīrs* to which he belonged. His *urs* is celebrated on the 12th of Rajab every year. The author of this book was present for the *fātiḥa* when the *urs* was celebrated that year.

It is also said that the saint is a *sayyid* and belongs to the *qalandarī faqīrs* of the *suhrawardī* order. The servants in the *dargāh* who belong to the *jalāliyya* order of *faqīrs*, claim that the saint also is of that order. Allāh knows better. Any way all the orders of *faqīrs* come to an end with the Prophet through the mediation of 'Alī.

Ḥaẓrat Shams Parān.

He is one of the companions of Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī and of the same Order of *faqīrs* to which the Walī belonged. He passed away on the 27th of Ramazān and was interred inside

CH. II— ACCOUNT OF SAINTS INTERRED IN TRICHINOPOLY
the *qila* on the side of Kūjar Kunta. His miracles had the strength to reach the sun, hence he became well-known as Shams Pāran. It is also learnt on the authority of a person not very reliable, that the name of this saint was Shah Barahna which became corrupted as Shams Parān. This is a false report. He is a man of high moral excellence, very attentive in observing the rules of *shari'at*. How could he be naked like a *majdhūb* or a *majnūn*? The *gunbad* is small. It was built along with a *masjid* by Nawwāb Shamsullāh Bahādur. Opposite to the *gunbad* is a well. It is believed by some ignorant and misguided men that whoever bathes in that well becomes a *sayyid*. Accordingly some men in these parts commit this wrongful and sinful act and consider themselves as *sayyids*. They are the source of great mischief.

Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Abdu'l-Wahhāb

He is a learned man showing greatness of character in accordance with his learning. He is interred on the bank of *arūskālwa*. He is considered as a man of lofty character and is venerated by one and all. His miracles are manifest even to this day. If a stupid person applies to his tongue the dust taken from the holy place for a period of forty days he becomes an intelligent man endowed with knowledge. I have heard this repeatedly from many who had actual observation of this fact. Ḥaẓrat Abdu'l-Wahhāb is a descendant of Ḥaẓrat Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī. Shāh Fayẓullāh, and Shāh Naṣīr'u'd-Dīn were the students of Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Abdu'l-Wahhāb. He passed away on the 6th of Shawwāl.

Ḥaẓrat Shāh Fayẓullāh Qādirī

He comes from Lucknow. He is interred by the side of the road to Puttūr in Tīnūr, a village situated in the midst of paddy fields. The *gunbad* is well known as a grave with one

minaret. In fact the dome has no minaret, but the mosque in that compound has a high minaret. The well-defined *ṣaḥan*, the shady trees, the well and the garden are all beautiful, pleasing to the eye. I am sure there is no such *daryāh* in these parts so exhilarative as that one. It is said that Hazrat Shāh Fayẓullāh Qādirī was a *walī* and a *sāhib-i-darwat*. When he inscribes on a piece of fresh earthen ware and gives rotary motion to it, immediately the ruler of that place is thrown in a state of confusion. He becomes wildly excited showing uncontrolled frenzy to meet the Supreme Ruler. In this condition he fulfils the requirements of the needy.

It is also well-known that soon after the *walī* arrived at Trichinopoly he entered the *gunbad* of the exalted Natthar Walī, and in a short while he had communications of divine grace. The mark of a holy place is clearly perceptible in his tomb, for it wins over the mind. He passed away on the 17th of Ramazān.

Shāh Naṣīrū'd-Dīn

He is one of the *khalīfas* of the exalted Natthar Walī and a great devotee. He passed away on the 20th of Rabī'ul-Ākhar, and is interred outside the compound of the *gunbad* of the exalted *walī*.

Sayyid Farīdū'd-Dīn Shāhīd

He is interred in a secluded spot in *kākātope* on the southern side of the *qilā* at a distance of three miles from the Madhrā gate. He is an excellent person, who worked to earn his livelihood. He suffered martyrdom at the hands of unbelievers who cut his body to pieces. This happened on the 12th of Dhu'l-qāda. The fact that he became a martyr in defence of the Faith was much talked of in all parts of the country.

CH. II— ACCOUNT OF SAINTS INTERRED IN TRICHINOPOLY

Of the many stories related about this martyr one is follows:—

Contiguous to the *gunbad* was a small hill. The sweet water oozing out of that was collected in a basin made out of stone. Those who expected fulfilment of their hopes and desires through the mediation of the martyr, resorted to the spot where water was collected in the basin. Such visitors were more often women. They dipped their hands into it with sincerity and piety, and brought out fresh paddy or flowers or green leaves or live fish, and such other things in accordance with the scope of their desire. They understood from the object they got, whether it would portend good or evil. By the grace of the Omnipotent Lord they realized their hopes.

Now a prison house is established there for soldiers. These men, out of ignorance and heresy, behaved in a shameless way. They immersed their foul hands into the basin; some wanted to make trial of its efficacy. Consequently the flow of water diminished considerably. Flowers and such other things which they used to bring out of the basin disappeared completely. When the Nawwāb visited the place with sincerity and piety, water began to flow as usual for the duration of his stay. This pure and limpid water which had the taste of milk and sugar, satisfied the thirst of all.

Ḥaṣrat Chānd Mastān

He belongs to the *Ṭayfūriyān* order. Every one had the greatest respect for him. He passed away on the last day of *Dhu'l-ḥajj*. His *gunbad* is very near to the *dargāh* of the exalted *walī*.

The period of some of the saints, about whom I have given an account, will be one hundred and fifty years anterior to our period.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

Sayyid Zaynūl-'Ābidīn

He is interred in Tīnūr. No one knows about the date of his death. The following story is well-known about him. The prisoners, who were serving a sentence for theft and murder, were, under the orders of the English, laying out roads. When they came to the spot where the tomb was in existence for the past seventy years, they unknowingly struck against the foot of the saint who was resting there peacefully. Immediately blood began to spout from that spot. When they dug out the earth carefully, they beheld a person, dressed in white robes, in a quiescent state. They also noticed at some places the colour of fresh blood. A huge crowd collected to see the sight. One *ṣūbadār*, a pensioner of the English applied himself to build a *maqbara*. He had a vision in his sleep and got information about the name of the saint. His resting place enlivens persons who go there. Whoever visits the place and offers *fātiḥa* receives a blessing.

Sayyid Karīm Muḥammad Qādirī

He is known as *Ḥaẓrat ṣāhib*, a descendant of *Shāh Ṣibghatullāh*. *Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh I* had sought his blessing on many an occasion. Especially when he was waging war against *Nawwāb Shamsu'd-Dawla (Chandā ṣāhib)* he sought the good graces of this saint and became victorious. *Ḥaẓrat ṣāhib* passed away on the 17th of *Shawwāl*, and he is interred inside the fort at a place contiguous to the mosque of *Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādūr*.

Alīmullāh Shāh Qādirī

He is surnamed as *Barahna Shamsḥīr*. He used to go into trance in his youth. Seeing that he was helpless, his heirs used to lock him up in a room. He would disappear from the lock-up and be present at the *gunbad* of *Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī*. Sometimes when he was asleep a serpent would

CH. II— ACCOUNT OF SAINTS INTERRED IN TRICHINOPOLY

spread its hood and shade his head with it. A blow with the sword would have no effect on him. Even in his old age could beat down a *pahlawān* by means of his inward strength and make him roll along like a stone from the hill top.

He passed away on the 27th of Rabī'ul-awwal, 1203 A.H. and is interred in an octagonal *gunbad* adjacent to *hrūskālwā*.

Shāh Imāmud-Din Qādirī

He is a Sayyid, and a good *mashāyikh*. He passed away on the 6th of Rajab 1203 A.H. He is interred inside the fort at a place adjoining the mosque of Nawwāb Amīrūl-Umarā Bahādur.

Shāh Raḥmatullāh Qādirī

He is a Sayyid and a famous *mashāyikh*. He passed away on the 20th of Rajab. He is interred in the *kachcha sarā* opposite to the *maqbara* of Musāfar *Shāh*.

Sayyid Shāh Abdūl-Raḥīm Qādirī

He lived a very humble life, but had a high mind, as per the saying, *Seek greatness through a high mind*. Despite his very limited means, he acted as per the command of Allāh, *Whatever you possess, spend in His way*. He kept vigils and busied himself with nocturnal devotions. He never allowed to pass even a minute without the remembrance of God. Before he attained the age of nineteen years he visited Madras and stayed there for some time. The Nawwāb received him with great respect. He also sent him food, and presented him with two hundred rupees even though he did not ask for money. Qādirī ṣāḥib distributed the cash to the needy in about four days and started on his journey home without any provision. A year after, he passed away in the month of Jumādul-awwal. He is interred close to the *masjid-i-muḥammadī* which is opposite to the place where he had residence during his lifetime.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

Khākī Shāh

He is a disciple in the tradition of Hazrat Ṣibghatullāh. He was such a saintly person that even animals showed him friendly disposition when he ate his food; crows also joined him. He was a darwēsh not actuated by self-interest, and was very humble. He passed away on the 18th of Ṣafar.

Khwāja Amīnū'd-Dīn Chishtī

He is a sayyid, one of the ancient mashāyikhs of the town. Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I was very friendly with him, and treated him kindly. He passed away on the 12th of Dhul-hajja and is interred in Dhimnākpāla close to the tomb of Khwāja his father, a saintly person.

Khwāja Aḥmad Shāh Husaynī Chishtī

He came from the ṣūba of Muḥammadābād Bidar. He is a descendant of Sulṭān Aḥmad Bahmanī. On his mother's side he is descended of Hazrat Sayyid Muḥammad Husaynī Kēsūdarāz surnamed Shāhbāz Buland Parwāz Khwāja Bandah Nawāz. Thus he had a high pedigree. He was a noble faqīr. His contentment, resignation and seclusion were of such a high order that in an attempt to describe them the tongue becomes red, and the pen prostrate. It is more than twenty years since he went up the Fatahpahāri and has not come down till this day. Khwāja Ṣāhib was fond of faqīrs and devoted to sayyids. But ignorant people who have a prejudice against men of good ideals criticise him, and think that he is a rāfiḻī. They will receive their punishment.

When the news of the departure of the Nawwāb from Madras to Trichinopoly reached him last year he said :

“The Nawwāb may not come this year, perhaps he may come next year.”

However when he heard that the Nawwāb was undertaking the journey that very year he said:

“Before the arrival of the Nawwāb to this place, I be called away by the Supreme Ruler and we will not meet each other”.

Just as he said, he passed away on the 27th of Rabī‘ul-ākhar, twenty-five days before the departure of the royal suite. He is interred on the same hill in the house built by himself. The hill soon became famous as Khwāja Pahārī.

Shāh Bhēka

He is surnamed as Tūrīn Jānwā Ūṛāwīn Tēkā. He was a *faqīr* moving about from place to place. He belonged to the order of *Bahlūl Shāh Qādirī*. When he was at Trichinopoly during the days of the Rānī Mīnāchī, the unbelievers who did not like his stay there, harassed him. One day when he was very much vexed, he got upon the bull in front of the temple, which the Hindus worship calling it *swāmī*, and made it move on by the power and strength of the Supreme Life Giver. He grazed it on grass land and went round the city on its back. The Rānī and others stopped worrying him. They abandoned the temple and gave the entire place on the *ārūskālwa* as present to the Shāh.

He passed away on the 12th of Dhul-hajj and is interred at the place bestowed as gift to him by the Rānī.

Shāh Jamālud-Dīn Husayn Chishtī

He came from Bijāpūr. He is one of the *khalīfas* of the exalted Hazrat Amīnu‘d-Dīn. It is more than one hundred years since he came to this place. He is of a type which disregard the rules of *sharī‘at*. He shaved off his beard. Whenever his disciples went to the mosque to say prayer, the *qāzī* discussed critically the ways of Shāh Chishtī. They all felt sorry at the criticism and submitted to Shāh Chishtī thus:

“Disregard of the rules of *shari'at* on your part is spoken ill off by others in our presence.” On hearing this Shāh Chishtī kept quiet. A day or two later he invited the *qāzī* to his presence. The *qāzī* did not like him, yet as soon as Shāh Chishtī sent for him, he went over to his place and found the Shāh very beautiful and good looking. Immediately the *qāzī* sought his pardon and fell before his feet in great humility. He became a sincere disciple of the Shāh and was attached to him as chain to the door. At the time of *bay'at* the Shāh told the *qāzī* thus: “Today the discipleship ends with you, for the secret is out.” A few days later he passed away on the 2nd of Shawwāl and is interred on the banks of the *brūskālwā*.

Qāyim Shāh

He is the leader of the *faqirs* in this place. He belongs to the *Arzān Shāhī* group connected with the *Tūsiyyas* who hold the seventh rank in the *Qādiriyya* order. Its relationship is traced to *Sultānūl-awliyā Ḥaẓrat Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī* through *Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Abdu'l-Razzāq*, the great *murshid*. As a youth he came over here from Hindustan. He was the cause for the destruction of twelve temples. He lived to an old age and passed away on the 17th of *Ṣafar* 1193 A.H. He is interred in *Warūr*.

Munṣif Shāh Suhrawardī

During the reign of *Mangā Rānī*, he caused the wheel of the car which carried the idol to sink in the track so firmly by means of his inward strength, that thousands of men had not the strength to make the car move on. When the Hindus together with the ruler approached him in great humility, and requested him to help them out of the difficulty, he tied one end of the string to the car and the other end to one of his limbs, and by a slight gesture of his limb he made the car move on.

He passed away on the 12th of Rabī'ul-awwal and interred on the side of the Kālwa.

Ittifāq Shāh

He is a *faqīr* who belonged to the group of Shāh Firāq. He is buried at a distance of two *kurōh* from Faah-pahārī. Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I had faith in him, and treated him kindly. He also made arrangements for erecting a mosque in the compound of his *dargāh*.

Wālāyat Shāh

He was the *murshīd* of Musāfir Shāh, and a well-known *faqīr* of the place. He passed away on the 26th of Rabī'ul-ākhar. His grave is on the way to Warūr.

Mēndā Shāh

He is a selfless *faqīr* who belonged to the Chishtiyya order. He cared a hair-pin for the things of the world. He also performed miracles. He passed away on the 17th of Shawwāl and is interred in the village Waragnalī.

Sayyid Jalāl Kadri

He is one of the *āzād faqīrs* well known in these parts from olden times. He belonged to the Chishtiyya order. Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Azimū'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III very often paid a visit to him. He passed away on the 20th of Dhu'l-ḥajj. His grave is on the way to the *gunbad* of the exalted *walī*.

Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Sarmast

He is also one of the *faqīrs* well known in these parts from olden times. His resting place is distinguished as one of the seven graves of *āzād-faqīrs*.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

Mehtāb Shāh Shīrāzī Suhravardī

He is one of the descendants of Ḥaẓrat Kīwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Ḥāfiẓ Shīrāzī, and a saintly person. He often got into a state of trance. Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III built for him a house when he was alive, and sent him presents. I have heard from many people about his saintliness, contentment, and resignation. He passed away on the 15th of Şafar, 1222 A.H. He is buried in his own house at Puttūr.

The Mosque of Ḥāji Ibrāhīm where Ḥaẓrat Natthar Walī halted on his journey from home is situated outside the New Gate on the way to Warūr. Visitors resort to this place, for there are springs on all sides which are full of green vegetation. Many Arabs are interred in the *şahan* of this mosque. It is reported that those who sleep in the *şahan* see in dream the virtuous men interred there.

The graves outside the Madhrā Gate number thousands, nay a hundred thousand and more. Places like Bandar-i-Chīnāpatan, *viz.* Madras, Mahāras-nakar *viz.* Bandar-i-Maylāpūr also have graveyards, but not such a long graveyard as noticed in that place. It is also reported that many pious men are interred there.

Besides the saints mentioned in this book, there are also many pious and virtuous men buried here, but their names are not known.

Such is the account of the city of Trichinopoly.

Now I proceed to give an account of the daily routine of the Nawwāb, so that every one might know it and pray for his long life and prosperity.

On Saturday the 1st of Rajab, at about 9 A.M, the Nawwāb took his seat in a green *nālki* along with his happy brother and set out to visit the noble *mazār* of the exalted Natthar Walī. He passed through the New Gate, reached

CH. II— NAWWĀB VISITS HIS ANCESTORS' TOMBS

the *mazār* and offered *fātiḥā*. He offered humbly as *nadhī* few hundred rupees and a sheet of flower which was spread on the tomb.

Then he visited the tomb of his noble ancestor Amīrū'l-Hind Nawwāb Wālājāh 'Umdatū'l-Mulk Āṣafū'l-Dawla Muḥammad Anwarū'l-Dīr Khān Bahādur Zāfar Jang Sipahsālār, the ruler of the Carnatic who passed away on the 29th of Rabī'ul-awwal, 1210 A. H. After his death he is referred to by all as *Nawwāb Jannat Ārāmghāh*. The world has not seen an *amīr* so gracious, kind and charming as the Nawwāb. He is interred outside the gate of the *gunbad* under its shade. Aṣṣam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV said *fātiḥa*, and spread a sheet of flower over his tomb. Then he visited the tombs of other members of the royal family interred there in the compound, said *fātiḥa* and spread sheets of flower according to the rank.

The names of those interred in the compound are as follows:

Nawwāb 'Umdatū'l-Umarā Mu'īnū'l-mulk Asadū'd-Dawla Ḥusayn 'Alī Khān Bahādur Dhu'l-Faqār Jang the celebrated son of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I and the crown prince. He passed away on Wednesday the 2nd of Rabī'ul-awwal 1214 A.H. He is referred to after his death as *Nawwāb Marḥūm*.

Nawwāb Amīrū'l-Umarā Madārū'l-mulk Rōshanū'd-Dawla Ḥāfīz Muḥammad Munawwar Khān Bahādur Bahādur Jang who was the *madārū'l-muhām* of his noble father, Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. He was a prudent *amīr*, brave and valorous, defender of the Faith, destroyer of heresy, kind to the friend, gentle to the enemy,

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

pious, and god-fearing, a *ḥāfiẓ* of the *Qurān*, and a most distinguished son of his father. He passed away in his youth on the 24th of Muḥarram, 1203 A.H. After his death he is referred to as *Nawwāb Firdaws-i-makān*.

Sayfu'l-Mulk Anwaru'd-Dawla Muḥammad Anwar Khān Bahādur Ḥusām Jang passed away on the 15th of Dhu'l-ḥajj, 1218 A.H.

Naṣīru'l-Mulk Intizām'u'd-Dawla Muḥammad Ṣalābat Khān Bahādur Ghazanfar Jang passed away on the night of Wednesday the 18th of Sha'bān, 1219 A.H.

These are four sons born to Nawwāb Bēgam, the *maḥall-i-Khāss* of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

Nawwāb Bēgam passed away on the 15th of Jumadal-awwal, 1186 A.H.

Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā Bahādur was married to the daughter of Shukōhu'l-Mulk Naṣīru'd-Dawla 'Abdu'l-Wahhāb Khān Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang, the younger brother of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

The wife of Nawwāb Amīru'l-Umarā passed away on the 3rd of Dhu'l-ḥajj, 1190 A.H.

The sister of the exalted Nawwāb Wālājāh I named Bī Bēgam,¹ and her two daughters.

Bī Bēgam was the wife of 'Abdu'l-Raḥīm Khān, the wife's brother of Muḥammad Maḥfūẓ Khān Bahādur Shahāmat Jang, the senior brother of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I.

¹ The date of the death of Bī Bēgam is not given by the author.

CH. II— NAWWAB VISITS THE TOMBS OF SAINTS

The two daughters of Muḥammad Āli Kī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I by Naw Bēgam are :

Maliku'n-nisā Bēgam known as Daryā Bēgam, passed away on Wednesday the 29th of Ṣafar, 1236 A.H.

'Umdatu'n-nisā Bēgam known as Fataḥu'n-nisā Bēgam passed away on the night of Thursday the 11th of Kabī'ul-ākhar, 1227 A.H.

Badru'n-nisā Bēgam the wife of Sayfu'l-Mulk, and the *ullātī* sister of Nawwāb Amiru'l-Umarā Bahādur passed away on the 14th of Sha'ban 1210 A.H.

The members of the Wālājāhī family, who died at Madras, were removed to Trichinopoly and buried in the compound of the *daryāh* of the exalted Natthar Walī.

Perhaps the sister of Muḥammad Āli Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I and her daughters died in Trichinopoly during the stay of the Nawwāb there.

A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV paid his respects to the departed souls buried in the compound of the *daryāh* of the exalted Natthar Walī, and then visited the tomb of Shāh Naṣīru'd-Dīn and said *fātiḥa*. He also met there the *jānashīn* of Shāh Naṣīru'd-Dīn who bore the same name. He was a pious man living in seclusion. He tied to the head of the Nawwāb and of his brother Nawwāb 'Azīm Jāh Bahādur a white *dastār* as a blessing, and presented them with *pāndān*, as per the saying, "*Green leaf is the present from darwesh. What else could he have?*" He also presented the Nawwāb with a silver ring with the following words inscribed "*O Allāh, Help those who help the religion of Muḥammad.*"

Then A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV visited the *gunbad* of Shāh Chānd Mastān, said *fātiḥa* and gained happiness.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

The Nawwāb returned to the *dārul-amāra* by the Madhrā Gate.

On the 3rd of Rajab at about 8 A.M., when it was drizzling the Nāwwāb sat in a *bahl* drawn by horses, and went out to visit the tombs of Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Abdu'l-Wahhāb, Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Farīdu'd-Dīn Shahīd, Ḥaẓrat Shāh Fayẓullāh and Sayyid Zaynu'l-Ābidīn. After seeking their inspiring grace, he returned to the *dārul-amāra* at about mid-day. Just at that time Mr. Francis Grant, the chief justice, who tries cases in accordance with the laws of Christianity, the second judge, and the third judge, together with two colonels, came to have an interview with the Nawwāb. As usual every one was presented with *'itr*, *pān*, flowers, and rose-water. Mr. Francis Grant and the senior colonels were sent each with a *torah* of nine trays, while the remaining three, each with a *torah* of seven trays of food from the royal kitchen.

A nautch party was arranged on the night of the 4th in honour of the Nawwāb's arrival.

On the night of the 5th, the *'ilāqadārs* of the *masjid-i-Muḥammadī*, *dārogha* and others employed in the *bāghs* of the *sarkār* paid their respects to the Nawwāb presenting *nadh*r. The metropolitan of Tāymān hill presented the Nawwāb with fruits and such other things. The Nawwāb showed him mark of honour by granting him presents.

On the afternoon of the 5th, he gave a feast to the *sardārs* of the army who accompanied him in his journey and to the *sardārs* who were in the city. After the feast the Nawwāb paid a visit to the tomb of Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Fataḥullāh Nūrī, going by *bahl* drawn by horses.

On the 6th, after saying the *mid-day prayer* he went up the hill with the *maḥallāt*. Arrangements for this trip with the *zanāna* were made from early morning by pitching tents, and putting on screens. Hundreds of men were engaged for doing

this work, for such arrangements up the hill were difficult accomplish without the ruler paying attention to them.

On the 7th, a *fātiḥa* party was arranged at the house the second *maḥall* in memory of ʔaḥrat Sayyid Jalāl Bu and Sālār Masʔūd *Ghāzī*. All the officers of the *sarkār* and men of rank in the city were invited for the party.

On the 11th, after *mid-day prayer* he visited the *Sinkār-bāgh* with the *maḥalls*, spent a pleasant afternoon there and returned home in the evening.

On the 12th, Aʔam jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV was good enough to respond to the kind invitation to a party arranged by the chief justice in his own *bāgh* near Kākā-tope, in honour of the Nawwāb. He took his seat in a *bahl* drawn by horses along with his happy brother, *Sharafuʔl-Umarā Bahādur*, Najmuʔl-mulk Bahādur, and the Agent of the Government and set out with his suite to Kākā-tope followed by about two hundred troops.

The following persons accompanied the royal *entourage*: The author of this book, Mīrzā ʔlāhī Bakhsh Bahādur the Mughal prince, ʔtiḥāduʔl-Mulk, *Khurshīduʔl-mulk*, Amīruʔd-Dawla, Anwāruʔd-Dawla, Aʔamuʔl-mulk, *Ṣafdar Jang*, *Sharafuʔl-mulk*, Qādir Ḥusayn *Khān Bahādur*, Muʔtamid Jang, ʔakīm Bāqir Ḥusayn *Khān Bahādur Maḥkī*, Wajihullāh *Khān*, ʔāfiḥyār Jang and Maḥmūd ʔlī the English *munshī*.

The Nawwāb reached the Judge's *bāgh* at 9 o'clock. There were present at the *bāgh* nineteen *sardārs* of the Court, military and civil officers, and thirteen ladies to welcome our ruler. The host went forward respectfully, received the Nawwāb and seated him on a chair with great regard. Then they partook of the repast. After finishing the repast the Nawwāb, who had regard for his host, went round the *bāgh* and then retired to his residence at about mid-day. It looked as if the Nawwāb would purchase the *bāgh*. But there are a number of *bāghs*

and lofty buildings in possession of the *sarkār*. So he did not seriously turn his attention to this *bāgh*.

On the night of the thirteenth the Nawwāb gave a feast to the chief justice, forty-one men who belonged to the court, *sardārs* of the army, collector of that place and others. Different kinds of dishes, sweets and savoury in accordance with the taste of the Muslims and the English, excluding pork, were served at the table. They all enjoyed the repast with lively and manifest delight. The humble author of this book had witnessed from his early age many such parties to the English by the Nawwāb, but they were never so gleeful as on that day. They were feeling quite at home at the party that night.

During the early part of the reign of Azīmūd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, the Right Honourable Edward Lord Clive, a sincere friend of the Nawwāb, had been invited to a dinner-party twice by the ruler when the author of this book who was also present, witnessed such a charming sight. In brief, the welling up of joy on such occasions is suggestive of their sincere love for the Nawwāb who is kind to all. After dinner there was a nautch party when the Muslim and Hindu dancing-girls gave proof of their skill in their art, and increased the happiness of the guests. The party broke at mid-night.

A government newspaper announced the arrival of the Nawwāb to Trichinopoly, and the dinner party arranged in his honour by the English *sardārs* on the 10th of April, 1832 A.D.

A literal translation of the communique is given below :

“The exalted Nawwāb of the Carnatic, who arrived here on the 14th of the last month is residing at the *dārūl-amāra* in the fort. He has bestowed great honour on Trichinopoly by his presence. We have also gained great honour and happiness on account of the visit of the exalted Nawwāb.”

“On the 26th of the same month, the exalted Nawwāb gave a sumptuous dinner to the *sardars* and the ladies of

CH. II—CHIEF JUSTICE'S SPEECH AT THE PARTY

the English Bahādurs resident at Trichinopoly. The dinner over, Mr. Francis Grant, the Chief Judge of South Arcot spoke thus on behalf of the guests present :

“ It behoves on us to pray for the health, well-being, long life and prosperity of the Nawwāb of the Carnatic. Friends! Let us all turn in the direction of the Nawwāb. I am sure that you would do so with great respect, for it is our duty to do so for such a famous ruler. Friends! Now we are assembled in the *dārūl-amāra* of the exalted Nawwāb of the Carnatic. We are, we are living in the shadow of the descendants of old friends who were sincere and faithful to the English. The exalted Nawwāb of the Carnatic is our noble guest, and an unexpected blessing for us. To night he is present in our midst out of his great love for us in accordance with the traditional regard which his noble ancestors had to the English. He has shown us courtesy, kindness, generosity and friendship in the same manner as his ancestors did in the past.”

“ Friends! The exalted Nawwāb of the Carnatic will welcome our prayer with pleasure, for we have attained great honour and distinction this day on account of the visit of the Nawwāb and his kindness and courtesy. Let us pray from the bottom of our heart. In view of the great honour conferred on us, and his hospitality I pray devoutly to God for the long life and prosperity of the exalted Nawwāb of the Carnatic and drink to his health.” After this they all drank thrice from the cup in repeated tiny mouthfuls.

Then he went on to say: “ Let us pray to the Almighty Lord that this *salṭanat* of the exalted Nawwāb of the Carnatic prosper from day to day and continue as long as the moon and the sun exist in the firmament,”

On the 14th of Rajab a *fātiḥa-party* was arranged to which all the officers and distinguished persons of the city were

invited. The table was spread with dainty dishes. Every one regarded this trip of the Nawwāb as an unexpected blessing and enjoyed the feast to his heart's content.

During this time General Daftan, the *sardār* of the English army at Trichinopoly, who had been to Pālamkūta to attend to some business of the Company, learnt about the arrival of the Nawwāb, returned immediately to Trichinopoly, and had the honour of meeting him at the *dārul-amāra*. The General was honoured as per usual with *īṭr*, *pān* and such other things. A *tōrah* of eleven trays was also sent to his residence.

On Saturday, the 15th at about 4-30 p.m. a daughter was born to the Nawwāb by his new wife. May, the Creator keep that star of chastity safe under the shadow of the Nawwāb.

Ere long a son may be born to illuminate the kingdom as per the prayer of this author who is an old servant, even from the second year of his birth, of 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, when A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV was eleven years of age.

The Nawwāb was very happy at the birth of this daughter, and accepted *nadh̄r* from all. Although it is not the usual practice in the *wālājāhī* family to receive *nadh̄r* on the occasion of the birth of a female child, yet our ruler as per the verse "If you feel grateful, I shall increase the bounty," considered the birth of a daughter also as the gift from God, regarded the child as good as a son, gave thanks to the Almighty, and attended to ceremonies befitting such occasions.

On the 17th, General Daftan requested the Nawwāb for a dinner. This was like an atom longing for sun's light. Yet the gloriously bright sun, (the Nawwāb) who sheds lustre upon ten worlds accepted the invitation,

The Nawwāb took his seat in a *bahal* drawn by horses along with his happy brother and set out with his suite to the

CH. II—THE ENGLISH GENERAL'S PARTY TO THE NAWWAB
bāgh of the General in response to his invitation. This *bāgh* which belongs to the Nawwāb was lent to the General temporarily for his residence. Forty men who attended such a feast on a previous occasion accompanied the Nawwāb for the party at the residence of the General. But *Sharafu'l-Ul-Anwār*'d-Dawla and *Şafdar Jang* were not present for the party.

The General went forward as far as the *sawārī* of the Nawwāb, received him with great respect and seated him on a chair in a courteous manner. Then he seated himself by the side of the Nawwāb, like a star by the sun. There was nautch for about an hour by Hindu dancing-girls. The musical sound produced by *zangūlā*, *tāl*, *mirdang*, the single tone of definite pitch made by *al-ghōza*, *khayrbīn*, the movements of hands and eye-brows in accordance with the practice of the Hindus in dance and the striking of hands by Hindu boys were reverberating upon the *bagh*. Twenty-one English *sardārs* present at the *majlis* were amazed at the performance. They were so deeply absorbed in witnessing the show that their eyes looked like narcissus flower. Then the tables were spread. Muslim food with fruits and English food excluding pork, and drinks were served. The dinner lasted for an hour. Then the English bishops sang hymns and played on instruments which comforted the mind.

After the dinner *itr*, rose-water, *guldasta*, *hār*, and *pāndān* were served up to the Nawwāb by the General with his own hands. Nawwāb *ʿAzīm Jāh Bahādur*, the prince of exalted rank, was also honoured in the same manner. Then Major Jones and Captain Dan the two secretaries of the Nawwāb, who were beckoned to, got up from their seats and served *itr*, *pan*, etc. to every one of the companions of the Nawwāb in a very polite and courteous manner.

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In short we found the *sardārs* very benevolent. Major Gram whose face indicated his nobility and humaneness was seated next to me at the dinner table. He was very kind to me from the beginning of the dinner to the end. When different kinds of Muslim dishes were served, he always requested me that I should have more of every dish. As this humble man is not accustomed to the food cooked in the royal kitchen, he helped himself to very little quantity of each dish.

A salute of guns was fired at the time of arrival and departure of the Nawwāb signifying respect for him. Two or three armed *jawāns* of the company stood at attention and sounded the *ṭanbūr*.

The Nawwāb returned to the *dārūl-amāra* at about midday.

On the 18th, Khwāja Muḥammad a *dakhnī* surnamed Aḥwī, the sister's son of Khwāja Amīnū'd-Dīn Chishtī, an old servant of Nawwāb Amīrū'l-Umarā Bahādur presented himself before A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV. Things had changed since the time of his old master and Aḥwī was in a wretched state; he did not have a *dastār* and a *kamarband* when he appeared before the Nawwāb who took him for a *mashāyikh* of the times. He talked to Aḥwī and found out his real identity. Whatever question the Nawwāb asked, he gave out in reply the name of Nawwāb Amīrū'l-Umarā Bahādur. To the question "Whom did you serve after the demise of the Nawwāb?" he gave the answer, "Under Amīrū'l-Umarā Bahādur." The nature of his talk indicated that he is a disciple lost in contemplation of his *shaykh*. The exalted Nawwāb was amused by his simple talk. He presented him with an white *dastār* got from the *tōsha-khāna* and asked him to tie it to his head. He granted him a monthly allowance of rupees fifteen and henceforth Aḥwī was included in the list of his servants.

CH. II—NAWWAB'S TRIP TO MURTAZĀ-BAGH

Sayyid Ḥaẓrat Qādirī, one of the grandsons of Ḥaẓ Shāh Ṣībghatullā, Sayyid Fataḥ 'Alī Shāh, Shāh Qadr 'Ā Khwāja Burhānuḍ-Ḍīn Chishtī, Khwāja Quṭbuḍ-Ḍīn Cl who came to meet the Nawwāb that month, were pres with *'itr* and *pān*. *Torāhs* of food were sent to them a r of times from the royal kitchen.

Sadrūḍ-Ḍīn 'Alī Khān who was the *ṣadr* at Trichinopoly in the reign of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, had the honour of meeting the exalted Nawwāb during his stay in the city. *Torāh* of food was also sent to him from the royal kitchen.

On the 19th after saying the *after-noon prayer* the Nawwāb sat in a *bahal* drawn by horses, and set out to pay a visit to the tomb of Khwāja Aḥmad Shāh Ḥusaynī Chishtī. He stayed there to say the *sun-set prayer*, and returned at about 9 p.m. to the *dārūl-amāra*, the roads lighted up by torches.

On Friday the 21st of Rajab, a daughter was born to the Nawwāb at the last moment of *jum'a* when prayers are answered by the Atmighty. The child was named Amatul-Qādir Qādiriyya Bēgam. May Allāh grant her long life and keep her safe under the shadow of the Nawwāb.

On the 25th after finishing the *afternoon-prayer* the Nawwāb went by *bahal* drawn by horses, to Murtaẓā-bāgh at a short distance from the banks of the cauvery as per the desire of his exalted mother who had gone there that very day. The *bahal* was an emerald-coloured one; the cushion was of red English hide, these two colours betoken the prosperity and contentment of the Nawwāb. Five men from among his employees, had the honour to sit with the Nawwāb. They were: Mawlawī Mir Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Bukhārī the *muftī* of the victorious army, Ḥakīm Bāqir Ḥusayn Khān Bahādur, Ḥāfiẓyār Jang, Wajīhullāh Khān and the humble author of this

book. It was so kind of the Nawwāb to permit this humble man to sit by his side after many years, although his father had that privilege.

When the *bahal* reached the banks of the Cauvery, the Nawwāb alighted from the carriage, got into a *sukhsāwan* of black colour and crossed the river. The companions of the Nawwāb followed the Nawwāb sitting in their respective conveyances. The Nawwāb entered the Murtaẓā-bagh at about five in the afternoon, while the companions stayed outside the *sarāchhā*. When the sun sank below horizon the party said the *sun-set prayer* in congregation. At about 8 p.m. the *sawārīs* of the wife of the Nawwāb and others set out towards the *darūl-amāra*. The Nawwāb recreated himself, with walking as far as the bank of the river. His companions and others also followed him. The crowd increased in due course. It was a good sight worth seeing. A huge crowd walking over the river-bed with arches, the water shining with the reflected light, the movement of water, the aspect of spearmen who carried red spears with silver rings, and of those who held gilded *nāchakh* with sheath of *bānāt* finish, the sound of human voices, the horses proceeding at a trot—the appearance of these, especially to the mind, cannot be described.

After reaching the river bank the Nawwāb got into his conveyance and arrived at the *dārūl-amāra* past 9 p.m.

On the 26th at about 5-30 p.m. he sat in a green *nālki* with his fortunate brother, and set out to the *Khawāja-hill*. The Nawwāb's mother and his wife also accompanied him in their respective *sawārīs*. They all returned to the *dārūl-amāra* at about 9 p.m.

On the 27th the customary *fātiḥa* observed in Rajab, the seventh Arabian month, was duly celebrated with great success. Companions-in-travel, and the residents

CH. II—NAWWAB'S PARTY TO THE ENGLISH GENERAL

of the city enjoyed the sumptuous meal served up four long table-cloths. After saying the *mid-day-prayer* they adjourned to the *kachahrīs* in the *bāghs* of the *sa* where the *āthār-i-sharīf* brought from Tajāwar were They saw the holy relics placed there and derived e happiness,

On the 28th, a *fātiḥa-party* was arranged by the new *maḥall* of the Nawwāb.

Of the many *bāghs* which belonged to the *sarkār* the Bāgh-i-Mu'tabir *Khān*, known as Bāgh-i-Naqqār *Khāna* owing to its contiguity to the *naqqār-khāna*, was in an impaired state, and its good fame had suffered. But it had grape-vine plants in good condition. On the 28th the Nawwāb turned his attention to that *bāgh* and as per the saying "Whatever work it may be, if anything done with a will, it shall convert a bramble into a nosegay" the entire *bāgh* which was full of sticks and straws, was cleared off in a short while. Then instructions were given to form plans for arranging a party there to the General mentioned above, and some of his friends. They worked so industriously, in accordance with the desire of the Nawwāb, that by the 29th, trees were made to form avenues, and good roads were laid ; brooks began to glide along and water spouted from fountains.

This *bāgh* was renamed *Farḥat-bāgh* with a view to receive a blessing by associating it with the well-known *Bāgh-i-Farḥ Bakḥshī* founded by *Ḥaẓrat Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Awrangzēb 'Ālamgīr Zinda Pīr*, the wise *Pādshāh* who was an ornament to his throne.

Although it was the beginning of the grape season in these parts, yet they were able to pluck off a large quantity of fruits. After sunset there was moon light, and tables were arranged tastefully for dinner. Different kinds of dishes,

sweet and savoury, and fruits were served. The bunches of grapes hanging from the tendrils looked, in the lantern light, like a cluster of small stars. The red juice from the flower of the plant *kājira* filled in drinking-glasses had the appearance of ruby water in diamond cups. Paper balls with mercury, suspended in mid-air, added lustre to the place. The green and red cups, diffusing dazzling brightness, demonstrated the refined luxury.

The General and his fifteen English friends who partook of the dinner that night expressed their heartfelt thanks to the Nawwāb for his generous hospitality. Their hearts throbbed with great emotion of love for the Nawwāb, while the sounds of their voice thrilled the listeners, the metallic sound of their voice resembling that of the tone of china plates. Every one praised the Nawwāb and prayed for him. The English guests retired after midnight, while the Nawwāb kept open the *majlis* till the early morning.

On the 2nd of *Shā'bān*, the birth-day of the exalted *maḥall* of the Nawwāb was celebrated. *Tōrah* of food was sent to Mr. Lashington on the occasion, while eight *sardārs* were presented with fruits. A feast was given to a number of distinguished men and members of the family at about 9 p.m. The party broke off after mid-night. Every one was served with *'ītr*, flowers, and *pān* to refresh himself, and *gulāb* and sweetmeats to get over the effect of drowsiness. The Nawwāb returned to his palace at about 2 a.m. Nawwāb *Azīm Jāh Bahādur*, the exalted prince, who retired at about 3 p.m., ordered the author of this book to stay on till the breaking up of the assembly. The Prince gave presents to all the singers, old and new, and the dancing-girls and others. The mirthful *majlis* was kept up till the early morning. May the All-Powerful Allāh bless the exalted Nawwāb soon with a son by this *maḥall*.

Ch: II— THE NAWWAB'S VISITS TO SHEKH BHEKA

On the 4th of Sha'bān, after the *mid-day prayer*, the Nawwāb took his seat in a *bahal* drawn by horses, and set out to meet Mawlawī Ghulām Husayn well known in these parts Ātiqullāh Shāh. He is the disciple of Mawlawī Aḥmadull the *khalifa* of Īzrat Shāh Abū Sa'īd. Ātiqullāh Shāh a pious person living in seclusion, contented, and placing reliance upon Allāh. The Nawwāb gave presents to hermit, and thence went to the mosque of the Nawwāb Beḡam the senior, in order to meet Shaykh Bhēka the *majdhūb*, known as Parī ṣāhib, who lived in the *madrasa* attached to the mosque. The Nawwāb presented Parī ṣāhib with certain things and went to the Ḥaydar-bāgh. He returned to the *dārūl-amārā* in the night.

The writer of this book met three *majdhūbs* at this place. One is Parī ṣāhib, another a very old person resident at the *masjid-i-basā'īn*; the third is Shaykh Natthar; he is young, modest and bashful of society. He roams about the compound of the *gunbad* of the exalted *walī*. Of the three, Parī ṣāhib has great merit in regard to the powers of his mind. He has proved his powers by performing miracles. I tested him many a time. He is often lost in contemplation. Sometimes he says prayers as prescribed by *sharī'at*. He is devoted to Muḥiyu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī, through whom he received communications of divine grace although he belonged to the order of *Chishtī*. Parī ṣāhib is seventy years of age. His hands and legs are affected by paralysis.

Every day the Nawwāb walked the distance to the *Masjid-i-Muḥammadī* to say the prayers in congregation. He kept up this practice as long as he stayed in Trichinopoly. He also made arrangements to do the repairs in the mosque.

Very often the Nawwāb set out, after saying the *after-noon-prayer* or sometimes after the *early-morning-prayer*, to

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pay a visit to the *dargāh* of the exalted *walī* or the graves of his ancestors. Sometimes he went out to the *bāghs* of the *sarkār*, or took a trip to the two rivers, the town ⁱⁿ between them, the forest, army-quarters and the *bāzār* outside the *qilā* towards the Madhra gate.

After he arrived at Trichinopoly he established a *langar-khāna* for the entertainment of the *faqīrs*, and gave orders that it should be maintained till he reached Madras.

On the 5th of *Shahbān*, the day of his departure from Trichinopoly, the Nawwāb paid a visit to *āthār-i-sharīf* adjoining the *kachahrī* from the olden times, and gained great happiness. He sent *tōrah* of food to the Mawlawī *ṣāhib*, the General, and the two Colonels according to the rank. He presented the *khaṭīb* of the mosque with a white *shāl*, the employees of the *sarkār* in the *bāghs* and villages with a month's salary, and the *tahsildār* of the town with a red *shāl*. Every one prayed for the long life and prosperity of the exalted Nawwāb.

CHAPTER III

*The departure of the Nawwāb from the ṣūba of Trichin
to the ṣūba of Dārūn-nūr-Muḥammadpūr*

Section 1

By the grace of Allāh, exalted be He, on the 5th of Sha'bān, the Nawwāb put on precious robes and adorned himself with *javāhir*. At about 5 p.m. he took his seat in a green 'amārī along with his fortunate brother, and set out with all the paraphernalia towards the north. The General with the honourable *sardārs* kept company with the Nawwāb as far as the bank of the river by the side of the Chintāmanī gate. The army of the Company also formed column as it did on the day of the arrival of the Nawwāb and kept company from the Chintāmanī gate up to the river. When the sun sank below horizon, the Nawwāb alighted from his *sawārī* to say the *sunset-prayer* and gave the General and *sardārs* and the English army permission to go home. The Nawwāb said his prayers and waited till mid-night for the arrival of the *sawāris* of his mother and *maḥall*, spending his time on the bank of the river. After they came, the Nawwāb got into a *sukhsāwan* and marched with his suite to Sāmīwāram at a distance of about ten miles from the *qilā* and arrived there at about three o'clock in the morning.

The following are the villages, big and small, that lay on the way :

Mūtchintāmanī, on the northern side, is an inhabited place ; Kunniyampattī well known as Kūndampēta, on the northern side, has many houses and shops ; Tirwānā kōil is on the same side ; Jhamkīram, its original name is Jambū-

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kiswaram. The *but-ling* which the Hindus worship, is underneath the *jambu* tree; hence it is well-known by that name. It is a long story. Srīrang is situated on the west. It is on the banks of the river Kūlṛam. These two small places are the suburbs of Trichinopoly; they are situated between the two rivers. An account of these places is already given in this book. The name of one of the rivers is Kūlṛam, which in the Tamil language, means *place of slaughter*. There is a story about this place.

In the olden days an unbeliever was the ruler of this country. He was engaged in erecting a temple. When the work men asked him to pay their wages, he promised to settle their accounts at this place (Kūlṛam). When they were being conveyed hither by boats, he drowned them in the middle of the river. Since then, the place was well-known as *Kollumidam*, which in passage of time got corrupted as *Kūldam* or *Kūlṛam*.

Tālgurī, on the eastern side, was granted as *inām* to the boatmen in charge of the two rivers.

Manṣūrpēta, on the same side, has a mosque and a *sarā* built by Muḥammad Ittibār Khān Bahādur Babar Jang, an Afghān, whose original name was Saḍī Khān. He is interred there. He served under two Nawwābs as the *farṭajdar* of Tirnāwīlī, and filled also other responsible offices. The administration and collection of revenues were entrusted with him. He is magnanimous, and well-known for his services to *faqīrs*. But he did not keep a civil tongue in his head and hence the gratitude of the posterity is denied to him.

Sāmīwaram is well-known as Samīwāram. It is an *inām* village endowed to Shāh Raḥmatullāh, a descendant of Ḥaẓrat Shāh Phūl Shāṭṭārī, younger brother of Ḥaẓrat Shāh Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior and also one of his four *khalīfas*.

Ch: III— THE NAWWAB'S JOURNEY TO UTATUR

There is a solid mosque and in its *ṣaḥan*, the children of Shā' Raḥmatullāh, are interred. The tomb of the Shāh is a spacious ārea.

Beyond Samīwāram comes the lake Mūrkuḷam in vicinity to Yarangalūr. It is reported that the place is for good quality of clarified butter.

The Nawwāb, after he arrived at this place, presented the *taḥṣīldār* with a red *shāl*.

Section 2.

On the 6th, at about 10 a.m., the Nawwāb sat in a *sukhsāwan* and set out to Ūtatūr at a distance of thirteen miles. The journey was hard as it was the hottest part of the day. He arrived there at the time of the *after-noon-prayer*.

The Nawwāb could do whatever he liked. But his poor followers suffered great hardship in this journey. The roads were uneven, stony, and full of deep narrow ways. The amount of water available also was little. The saying of the Prophet: "The journey is a piece of punishment" has come true. In the course of that day's journey the followers of the Nawwāb experienced the three seasons, spring, summer and autumn.

The villages that lay on the way are :

Charwānūr, a small village on the north-east, has some houses and a tank; Agram, on the south, and Naykulam, on the north-west, are like Charwānūr.

Ūṭātūr, on the north, has a tank and a river which flows from the hills. The river water is very warm and its properties are bad; for its source is from a place which is rich in lime. One who drinks that water, will immediately suffer irritation at the time of urination.

At Ūṭātūr is the *gunbad* of an young Sayyida by name Ḥāfiẓa Bibī. She was a pious lady, who had performed the

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hajj to Baytullāh. She was also one who could recite the whole Qurān by heart. A lamp with water and wick gave light over her grave from the third day after her death till the fortieth day. It is not possible to describe in this book what all I heard about her purity and chastity.

Compared with other villages, Ūtātūr is, on the whole, well-populated, but the journey to this *manzil* had been very difficult for reasons stated above. In the course of this day's journey three or four wells were sighted, but they were almost dry. The little water that was available in these wells was not at all sweet, yet people rushed to them like flies to honey. Every one experienced great hardship on that day's journey, but the author of this book, who suffered many privations for various reasons, reached the *manzil* on the 7th, and had the happiness of meeting the Nawwāb at the time of the *afternoon-prayer*.

Section 3

On the 7th, after saying the *sun-set-prayer*, the Nawwāb sat in a green *nālkī* along with his fortunate brother, and set out to Turīmangalam at a distant of twelve miles, the way lighted up by torches. He arrived at about 9 p.m., and halted there to give rest to his followers.

The villages sighted on the way are:

Tiranī, on the north, has two tanks, two wells, and a few houses; Kārī, in the same direction, has two hundred houses, and two tanks, one of which is big and known as the Nawwāb tank; Aylūr, in the same direction, has some huts and a tank; Agram, on the same side, has a tank.

Turīmangalam, also known as Tūrāmangalam is a village on the western side. It has some houses and a tank. At this village the *tahşildār* was presented with a red *shāl*.

Section 4

On the 9th at about 4-30 a.m. the Nawwāb went horseback to Tallūr at a distance of fifteen miles. He dressed himself like an English-man on that day: that is a blue shirt on the body, a white *rūmāl-i-shāl* marked with green dots on the head, and socks. Whenever the Nawwāb went on horseback in the early morning, he adorned himself in the English style.

The villages are:

Wālkondahpūr, on the north, has some houses, and two wells. Good *shaṭranj* is manufactured there. At this village is the tomb of a saint well known as Sayyid Ma'rūf. The *taḥṣīldār* of the area accompanied the Nawwāb as far as this *manzil*. After the arrival there he was presented by the Nawwāb with a *shāl* of the colour of pomegranate-flower.

Durgam is well-known as Ranjangaṛh. A river flows by the foot of that fort. It was a flourishing place at the time of *jāgirdārs*. Now it wears a deserted appearance. In the olden times Aḥmad Khān Ṭāhir was the *jāgirdār* of the place. He was a good man, and the *jāgīr* continued in possession of his family for four generations. After the death of Muḥammad Sa'īd Khān styled as Muḥammad Husayn Khān Bahādur Ṭāhir, it was taken possession of by the Company. At present Muḥammad Ābid, son of the last *jāgirdār*, is, by the kindness of the Nawwāb, conferred the title *Ṣafdar Jang* and he enjoys an allowance in lieu of his *jāgīr*. The Nawwāb who is kind and affectionate to friends, accepted the invitation of the devoted *Ṣafdar Jang* given in person, halted at Ranjangaṛh for about an hour and a half in the morning, and had his royal repast there. He presented the Nawwāb with a few things of his ancestors kept as objects of reverence and submitted *nadhīr-i-dastī* on his behalf as well as on behalf of his wife.

He also sent *khilāt* and *dushāla* to the exalted Nawwāb and Nawwāb Aẓīm Jāh Bahādūr.

The Nawwāb arrived at the *manzil* Tallūr at about 5 p.m. On his way he passed the village Kiranūr contiguous to the highway. A rivulet flows by that side.

Tallūr is on the north. A small river flows by its side.

The villages described above have very few houses, hence the actual number is not mentioned.

At Tallūr *Sharafu'l-mulk* was entrusted with the management of the villages and the *bāghs* of Nattharnagar endowed to the Masjid-i-Muḥammadi after the removal of Munīr Jang from the service. *Sharafu'l-Mulk* was honoured by the Nawwāb with the present of a *mahtābi maḥhardār khilāt*. The *taḥṣildār* of this place was presented with a *mahtabi būṭadār chīra*, and the Chawdhari, who accompanied the army as far as this *manzil* with a *thān* of *mahtabi būṭadār*.

Section 5

On the 10th, after the *early-morning-prayer* the Nawwāb rode to Kaṛḍiyūr well-known as Kaldiyūr at a distance of nine miles. He arrived there at about 8 a.m.

The villages on the way are:

Dayltūr, on the east, has some huts, a tank and a well.

Winganūr is a small village on the north-east. It has a well, known by the name of *Drug Nawwāb Kulam*; Kallūr is a small village in the same direction. It has a well known as *Gunta Bahlāl Khān*.

Kaṛḍiyūr, in the same direction, has a tank and a well. A river coming through the jungle flows by the side of it. It is said that the water from this river is not conducive to health. Hence the exalted Nawwāb, and the persons who had the means, made arrangements at the previous *manzil* for storing water in pitchers, *mashk*, *abriq* according to

their needs. In brief, it is a dreadful desert. At this place the Nawwāb heard the news about the death of Sayyid Almas who was suffering from dysentery at Nattharnagar, and the body was interred near the tomb of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. Sayyid Almas was the *khawāja sarā* under Muḥammad Alī Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I who conferred on him the title *Jāwīd Khān*. The Nawwāb and his mother grieved at the death of this ancient employee of the *sarkār* who had been honoured by successive rulers. During the reign of Āzīmū'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III the title *Tājū'd-Dawla I'tibār Jang* was conferred upon him. He held many posts such as *dārogha* of *bāwarchī khāna-i-khāṣṣ*, *mēwa-khāna*, *tanbūl-khāna*, *dawā-khāna*, *baḥlūr-khāna*, *iṣṭabl-khāṣṣ*, *baḥl-khāna* of horses; he was also in charge of *bāghs* like *Amīr-bāgh*, *Āzīm-bāgh*, *Anjīr-bāgh*, etc. He coped successfully with every work entrusted with him. He was of refined manners, courteous and well-bred.

Section 6

On the 11th, after the *early-morning-prayer*, the Nawwāb rode to Achānūr, also known as Āsnūr, at a distance of eleven and half a miles. He arrived there at about 8 a.m.

The villages are:

Chīpāk: the way to this village is on the northern side while the habitation is on the east. It has huts and houses about one hundred in number, two shops, and a tank. The *manzils* covered on the previous day had not such trees that could give shelter to the travellers. But this village abounds in *mughīlān* tree; the pathway is infested with thorns of this tree which prick into the feet like lancets.

Kalpāk, a small village on the north, has a tank. A river also flows by its side; Yaranjī is similar to the previous village. The river Tirunāmuttiyār which passes by its side comes from Kalkurchī, flows through Wirdāchal to Maḥmūd-bandar where it empties into the sea.

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Achānūr, on the north, has about a hundred houses, a tank and a well. It is a small village, compared with other villages in respect of habitation, but it has a big area, a barren tract of land with very little cultivation.

The Collector of this district had the honour of an interview with the Nawwāb.

Section 7

On the 12th, at about midnight, the Nawwāb sat in an 'īmārī and set out to Walandūrpēṭṭa at a distance of nine miles. He was accompanied by another 'īmārī and three howdahs and the usual suite. The party arrived at the *manzil* early in the morning. In the moon light, the elephants going at a gallop on the vast *maydān*, making a noise of bells on their bodies, was a sight that could never be forgotten. The night was lit up brilliantly by the moon as though it was in consideration of the piety and virtue of our benevolent ruler.

The villages on the way are:

Maywānūr, on the north, has fifty houses, two shops, a tank, a well, and a *mandaf*. The forest in this area was so dense that it seemed to be a fit dwelling place for tigers and thieves. As a matter of fact it was so about twenty years ago, but after the advent of the English, things were put in order, and one could feel safe from danger in this forest. Yet even in these days, the travellers do not venture to travel in nights especially during dark nights. They always travel in a party. Now by the help of Allāh, exalted be He, such a dangerous *manzil* became fit for human habitation on account of the arrival of our ruler. No one has fear of tiger or thief.

Tirpayr has a tank, a well and about forty huts. Walandūr-pēṭṭah has more tanks, wells, and a *sarā* compared to the previous two villages.

Section 8

On the night of the 13th, after saying the *after-sun-prayer*, the Nawwāb started in a howdah to Tirwannilūr distance of thirteen miles, and reached that *manzil* at about o'clock in the night. He halted there till the night of the 14th. At this *manzil* they feared greatly that there might be an attack from tigers. So the Nawwāb proclaimed during the afternoon that the soldiers should pass through that pathway in a party.

The villages are :

Pāndūr, a small village on the west of the highway, has a tank. It is a dense forest full of danger.

Kālūnūr, on the east, is similar to Pāndūr. A river well-known as Pūpattī Ōdā, passed by that village; Mardūr, on the same side, has a big tank, forty houses, two shops, three wells, and a *mandaf*.

Wēlūr, on the west, comprises three villages with a total of one hundred and twenty houses, a shop, a big tank and two wells. A river known as Kaṛlam flows from here. When the writer of this book went to the bank of the river, he witnessed an wonderful sight. The moon's disk was reflected on the water, and it looked as though God had bound it with gold fetters. The expanse of sand on the bank looked in the moon light as if the whole riverbed was covered with silver carpet. The sight of the crossing of the river by *sukhsāwans*, *bahals*, *bandīs*, horses, and by a large number of people giving forth queer sound at that time, was marvellous to see. Especially the sight of the happy *sawārī* of the Nawwāb with all paraphernalia, and the saunter of the elephants looking like hills, cannot be visualized. The Nawwāb was drinking tea to keep himself warm in that cold night. His *sawārī* was followed by some *'imārīs* and howdahs. Thus the scene that came in view on the river was very charming.

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The villages on the way are :

Māmpalpat, a small village on the east, has a small tank and a well; Mallipat, on the west, is similar to that; Kūypat, also on the west, has two wells. Palandūr, on the east, has a well with stone work, a tank and fifty houses. Arilūr, a small village on the east, has a tank and a well; Kaknūrpētah, on the same side, has one hundred and thirty houses, a well with stone work, a tank and a *mandaf*; Aytūr, on the east, has one hundred huts, one *sarā*, a well with stone work of striking appearance, and a *mandaf*.

Panmalāpētah has a big tank, a number of wells, and three hills. The hills run in a line on both sides of this place. Although this village was fixed to be the encampment, it was not found suitable for want of open space, and large number of trees. So the army encamped at Anandpūr at a short distance from Panmalāpētah.

Anandpūr has huts and houses more than one hundred in number, forty shops, and a mosque built of stone by Khayru'd-Din Khān Ghōrī. The mosque has a very extensive *ṣaḥan*. The *gunbad* of Khayru'd-Din Khān Ghōrī and the graves of some Muslims are found in the *ṣaḥan*. At a little distance from the mosque is a *goristān* where one could see the *mazār* of Dalil-Khān, who in the company of Raja Tī Singh, fought against Nawwāb Sa'adatullāh Khān Bahādur.

The Nawwāb presented the *taḥṣildār* of the place with a *thān* of golden *mahtābī*.

Section 11

On the night of the 17th, the Nawwāb started at about 9 p.m. to Nuṣratgadh known as Chanjī at a distance of eleven miles. He arrived there at mid-night.

Three villages, Kīwmālī, Attūr, and Kūpī were sighted on the way. How to describe the difficulties there were on the

way? The hills ran in a line on both sides of the pathway which was dense with trees for the most part; the very sight of that was dreadful. This was the haunt of tigers and thieves. After this region came under the management of the English it was announced publicly that whoever killed a tiger would get a reward of ten *hūn* and whoever killed a young one of a tiger would get a reward of five *hūn*. Thus every one engaged himself with this work like a hound, and accomplished his purpose. Consequently the danger from tigers was minimised.

In the old times this was a densely populated place. It was one of the eighteen *sarkārs* according to the classification of Nawwāb Dhu'l-Faḡār Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang. Raja Ti Singh had authority over this *qāsba*. He was celebrated for his noble character and bravery. He fought valiantly against Nawwāb Sa'ādātullāh Khān Bahādur, the *ṣūbadār* of the Carnatic, and was about to defeat his opponent; but God's help was on the side of the Muslims. The Raja was cut down by the brave men of the Nawwāb and sent to the hell. Thus by the help of the Exalted Helper, Nawwāb Sa'ādātullāh Khān gained a victory over the Raja.

There is a strong fort here with enclosures on three sides. It became well-known as Nuṣrat-gadh, after the name of the Nawwāb. Contiguous to this are seven hills, each with a strong fort. Their names are:

(1) Kishangadh, (2) Rājgadh, (3) Shābāsh Tēkrī, (4) Karbgadh, (5) Bāndārgadh, or Bahādurgadh among discerning men, (6) Chingadh, (7) Chanbārgadh.

There are mosques inside the fort, especially the *masjid* built by Nawwāb Dhu'l-Faḡār Bahādur Nuṣrat Jang is exquisite. It was a building of consummate excellence. Now it is in impaired state, yet it gives evidence of its former glory.

The Raja's residence, a seven-storied building named *Satkunda* is in ruins. The fort is in a wrecked state. The

whole place is overgrown with trees and the path way is blocked up. What to say about the ruinous condition of the place? In the place of thousands of houses, there are now two houses of Muslims and about fifty houses of Hindus. During these years the climatic conditions also changed. If any one drinks the water at this place, he gets a complaint in the spleen, a bloated belly, emaciated body, high fever and weakness. But the water from the tank and *Nawwāb-kuntah* is on the whole good. There are many *mazārs* but they are hidden by the dense forest, and thick bushes. Still some are visible and not forgotten by the people. An account of these is given in the following pages:

Hāfiẓ Husayn Qādirī.

He is the praiseworthy grandfather of the writer of this book. He was a unique man in his age, of surpassing merit. His rectitude and honesty in outward form are commensurate with his piety and devoutness. His recital of the holy Qurān was very charming, as enchanting as the voice of Dā'ūd. His beautiful voice will arrest the flying bird. When Nawwāb Aṣaf Jāh the *wazīr* of the Deccan visited this place, he met Ḥaẓrat Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Qādirī with great enthusiasm and was well-disposed towards him. In the prime of manhood he donned the mantle of *khilāfat* from Ḥaẓrat Shāh Muṣṭafā Qādirī, the sister's son of Sayyid Mīrān Muḥammad the teacher. He passed away on the 17th of Muḥarram, 1158 A.H. and is interred outside the fort. His *gunbad* is surrounded by a spacious *maydān* with a few trees.

Inside the fort are the grave of the mother of Ḥaẓrat Ḥāfiẓ Ḥusayn Qādirī and the *mazār* of his son-in-law, a *sayyid* and a pious man. His name is Sayyid Muḥammad but his *mazār* is well known by the name of Naṣīr Walī. He fought against unbelievers in support of the Faith.

Outside the fort is the *gunbad* of a *ṣayyid*, 'Aḥḥuṣayn by name. He is an Abyssinian, praiseworthy regard to outward appearance and inward qualities. Allāh's grace falls upon a man, he is elevated in rank.

On the left side of the fort is the *mazār* of Fata Alī ṣāhib, a saintly person who performed miracles. At a little distance outside the town is the well-known *mazār* of Zacha Bībī where remarkable occurrence takes place even to this day. Whoever visits the bounteous *mazār* with sincere faith, achieves immediately his desires.

Early in the morning the Nawwāb went round the city on horseback. About the close of the day the Raja of the old Chanjī, Kishwarnāth Singh by name, a young and good looking Rajput, came to have an interview with the Nawwāb. This Raja is also known as Mēlcharī. He is a relation of Manrūp Singh. He submitted *nadh̄r* to the Nawwāb who presented him with a *māhtābī khilāt* embroidered and marked with dots, and a *doshāla* of the colour of the pomegranate-flower. On the same day Arnachal Wiswanād Bhandārī, the *pālayakār* of Wētiwalam, who had the honour to interview the Nawwāb at the previous *manzil*, received as presents from him a *khilāt* which was embroidered and marked with dots, and a *shāl* of the colour of the pomegranate-flower.

Section 12

On the night of the 18th, at about 10 p.m. the Nawwāb set out to Chitpaṭ at a distance of fifteen miles. He arrived there at 3 o'clock in the morning. The Mēlchārī-chāwṛī came immediately after leaving the last *manzil*.

The villages that came on the way are:

Fataḥpētah, on the east, has a big well, a small river, a home for *faqirs*, a *mandaf*, thirty houses, and one shop.

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Kanpalam, a small village on the west, has a tank and a hill adjoining the road.

Kuṛāmundī is similar to Kanpalam, but the well and *mandaf* are bigger.

Chītpaṭ, on the north-west, has two mosques, an *ādḡāh*, three hundred and twenty houses, forty shops, four wells, two tanks, some *takya* of *faqīrs*, and a fort in an impaired state. In the old days Chengleput and this place were in possession of Nawwāb Ṣalāhiyyat Khān. During the reign of Muḥammad Āli Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I it was assigned to Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur as *jāḡir*. After his death it was taken possession of by the *sarkār*. The *jama'dār* under Mr. Hīd came with the Nawwāb from his limit as far as this place and received as presents a *thān* of a golden *māhtāb* marked with dots and a red *chundṛī dastār* manufactured at Madhrā.

Section 13

On the night of the 19th, at 8-10 p.m. the Nawwāb started to Arnī at a distance of fourteen miles and arrived there at 12-30 p.m. He halted there for a day to give rest to his followers, for he was always solicitous about their welfare.

In the course of this journey two villages came in view. One is Indarāwan, on the west, with forty houses and a well. The other is Wināmankalam, on the east, with thirty houses, two shops, four tanks, three wells, and a house for *faqīrs*. A river flows between these two villages.

Arnī, on the north, is a thinly populated town. It was in olden times the *jagīr* of a Brāhman. But nowadays Raja Tirmal Rao has authority over this place. He resides in Darnakar, a place on the bank of a river.

Arnī has two mosques, a *dargāh* of seven *shahīds*, five *takyas* of *faqīrs*, five thousand houses, one hundred shops, ten

CH: III— RAJA TIRMAL RAO INTERVIEWS THE NAWWĀB wells, two tanks and a fort. There are one hundred thirty villages under its authority. The annual income is about a lakh of rupees. A small amount is paid *pēshkash*, and the rest goes to the company. About close of the day, Raja Tirmal Rao presented himself to the Nawwāb and submitted as *nadh*r eleven *ashrafī*. The Nawwāb presented with his own hands *‘itr*, *gulāb*, and *pāndān* to the Raja and conferred great dignity upon him. Although the Raja is noted for his courage and bravery, yet when he appeared before the Nawwāb, his colour changed, and he looked like a fox before a lion. He was so sheepish that he could not speak freely. The Raja's *wakil* who had been trained up in the company of Muslims replied on behalf of his ruler to all the questions put to him by the Nawwāb as per the saying “*The Pīrs do not fly, but make their disciples fly.*”

Next day also the Raja had an interview with the Nawwāb and made a present of a *khilāt-i-jāldār mahtābī* with a *kamkhwāb* and a *gulnārī doshāla* to the Nawwāb, and another *khilāt* to Nawwāb ‘Azīm Jāh Bahādur, the exalted prince. ‘Azīm Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV presented the Raja in return, a *khilāt-i-mahrmāt mahtābī talla’ī* with *kamkhwāb* of red *jāldār*, a *gulnārī doshāla*, a pair of dark horses, with trappings full of adventitious ornament, *pāndān*, *‘itr*, and *gulāb*. The Nawwāb's mother presented the Raja with a *khilāt* of silver *jāldār ganga jamnī*, a blue *kamkhwāb*, *pāndān* and such other things. The Nawwāb gave also a feast to the Raja in the Hindu style known *sīdha*. In return for all the dignity conferred upon him by the Nawwāb, which none of his ancestors had enjoyed from the day of Muḥammad ‘Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I to the time of ‘Azīmud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, the Raja presented *nadh*r to the Nawwāb and his mother and thus expressed his gratefulness to them. He also desired to give *nadh*r in return

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for each of the presents given by their highnesses, but the Nawwāb out of his generosity, excused him from such a course, for he has a concern for all, high and low, and is anxious not to burden any one. On the other hand he is eager to give freely to all.

The Raja took leave of the Nawwāb after staying for an hour. The Raja was diligent in making arrangements for the supply of stores and provisions for the army from the day of the arrival of the party till it left his limits in the same manner as the collectors did in their respective districts.

Mr. Clarke, Assistant Collector of Chittore had an interview with the Nawwāb, and he was presented as usual with *ṭīr*, *ḥān* and such other things. A *tōra* of seven trays was sent to his residence from the royal kitchen.

At about the time of the *after-noon-prayer*, suddenly a strong gust of wind began to blow so violently from the direction of the north that a cloud of dust was raised; the day looked like night and it had the same appearance as the scene visualized at the time of the blowing of the last trumpet, a prelude to the Judgment Day. At that time some tents moved in dancing rhythm just as camels in Arabia danced to the melody of drivers when they coaxed them into sailing fast in the desert with sweet music; some other tents were in a state of wild derangement like *mashāyikhīs* in trance, while a few other tents lay flat on ground as those who cast themselves down prostrate at a shrine. The tent which served as a mosque received an angular shape which resembled a person who bends his head in prayer so that the palms of the hands reach the knees. Allāh was gracious to us inferiors. The wind stopped; the tumult and excitement subsided. Else we would have suffered severely in that hilly area. May Allāh continue to show mercy on us.

Next day Ḥakīm Ḥusayn Khān was appointed as *dār* of *malbās-i-khāṣṣ* in the place of Burhān Nawāz Khān Wajīhullāh Khān to the post of *batlūr khāna*.

Fire works sent by Raja Tirmal Rao was displayed the night in the presence of the Nawwāb at the *ṣaḥan* before the royal pavilion. At about 12 p.m. the Nawwāb witnessed a dance performance.

Section 14

By the grace of Allāh the Nawwāb set out with his entourage after midnight of the 21st to Timri at a distance of eleven miles. The party marched forth in a beautiful manner with regular and measured tread to the accompaniment of music provided by dancing girls of the Hindu community. The scene was enhanced by the moonlight and the lights of *mashāl*. The Nawwāb arrived at his *sarācha* at about 4-30 a. m.

In olden times Timri was held as *jāgīr* by Mīr Muḥammadi Khān, brother of Muḥammad Shāh Pādshāh. Mīr Muḥammadi Khān was of the rank of *pādshāhī manṣabdār*, and an able man. During the reign of ‘Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II, the *jāgīr* of Timri was assigned to his *nikāh* wife, the mother of Tāju’l-Umarā Muḥammad Alī Ḥusayn Khān.

The villages that lay on the way are :

Wallipīri, on the north, has a tank, a well, a *mandaf*, and twenty houses; Dāmarpāk, in the same direction, has a big tank, two wells, thirty-five houses, three shops, and a fort in ruins. During the reign of Nawwāb Sa‘ādatullāh Khān this place was assigned to the *jāgīrdār* of Kalwa for the purpose of maintaining the retinue and to meet other expenses. But during the reign of Muḥammad ‘Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, Dāmarpāk was allotted to Sayyid Fataḥ ‘Alī Khān, a big *amīr* and a relative of the rulers of Bankāla (Bengal).

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Mūsūr is on the north. One would come across five shops on the high way before reaching Mūsūr.

Timrī, on the north, has more than seven-hundred houses, eight shops, some *bāghs*, one big tank, four wells, a fort in ruins, two mosques, and a few *takya* of *faqīrs*. Although Timrī was fixed up as one of the *manzils*, the actual encampment was at the extensive *maydān* in Martāmbārī, a village that could be reached in about a *gharī* from Timrī. Again to the north of this village at a little distance on the right side was the habitation, and on the left was a tank.

All the three sons of the Raja had the honour to meet the Nawwāb at this *manzil*. They received as presents from the Nawwāb three pairs of *mahtābī mūṭharadār khilāt*, one *gulnārī shāl*, three *thāns* of *kamkhwāb* of which two were of red *mahramāt*, and one of yellow *būṭadār*. Their *wakīl* received a *shāl* of yellow *būṭadār*. The Queen mother sent as presents to the Rajā's sons three pairs of *mahtābī tallāi jālardār khilāt*, one *thān* of *kamkhwāb* of yellow *būṭadār*, two *thāns* of *kamkhwāb* of blue *būṭadār*; to the *wakīl* a *mahtābī būṭadār khilāt* and a *gulnārī shāl*.

Section 15

On Sunday the 22nd at sunrise the Nawwāb adorned himself with embroidered *khilāt* and precious stones of bright colour worthy of being compared to the rays of the sun, sat along with his brother in a *nālkī* of yellow colour which put the spotless gold to shame, and set out to the beautiful park contiguous to the *tōṭkhāna*. There he alighted and took his seat in the howdāh on the back of a tall elephant and marched forth gloriously. The regiment commanded by the General Sawīl, Colonel Colebrooke, Colonel Foal and other *sardārs* of the army, and Mr. Cook the chief Collector and Mr. Clāk were present there to welcome the Nawwāb. The large gathering

of people collected there to have a look at the *sawāri* of the Nawwāb resembled the multitude which anxiously crowded sight the crescent moon before the *id*. Then the march continued their march and at about 8-30 a.m. after saying *fātiḥa* to Ḥaḥrat Ṭīpu Qalandar, the Nawwāb arrived at the ancient *dārul-amāra* namely Dā'ir-nūr Muḥammadpūr known as Arcot. The Generals and others were presented with *aiṭṭ* and *pan* and were permitted to retire. The Nawwāb then went into the palace.

The General was honoured with a *tōrah* of eleven trays and the chief collector with a *tōra* of seven trays.

The places that were on the way may be described as follows:

Namakpētṭah is a small village on the north. It has more than fifty houses in two rows, five shops, two *chhatar*, two wells, and some gardens.

Ramnā, which was the *cham-de-mars* during the days of Nawwab Dhu'l-faqār Khān, had a few houses, a mosque of Kamtū-shāh behind a rock and a *tōpkhāna*. By the side of the *tōpkhāna* is the *takya* of a *faqīr* well-known as Shāh Ṣādiq Ṭabaqāṭī. In fact this place belonged to the grand-father of the writer of this book; he granted it as a gift to the *faqīr* Ṭabaqāṭī, who is buried there along with some members of his family.

An account of my grand-father is given below:

The exalted name of my grand-father is Muḥammad Ḥusayn known as Shaykh Ahmad. He was so proficient in Persian that none could make a stand against him. In the study of Arabic he qualified himself to the highest degree. He had a very good memory. He was studious, devout, pious and enthusiastically working for the glory of God and good of men. He is one of the famous disciples of Janāb Sulṭān

Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Raḥmān Qādirī, the successor and *ṣajjād-i-nashīn* to Ḥaẓrat Mīrān Sayyid Muḥammad, the beloved son of Ḥaẓrat Shāh Ṣibghatullāh, the renowned *qutb*.

Shaykh Aḥmad was also one of the persons of rank in his day. Awrangzēb 'Ālamgīr Pādshāh employed him as a chronicler. Later he was engaged in secret service at Aḥsanābād Gulbargā. Then in recognition of his services he was promoted to the post of *mīr-sāmān* of that place; the *jāgīr* of Ja'farābād popularly known as Budhafrābād, which yielded an annual revenue of twenty-four thousand rupees was assigned to him and presented with *khilāt* by the Pādshāh. Shaykh Aḥmad gradually rose in the estimation of the emperor who conferred on him the title Khān.

In those days when people used to make great efforts to get this title from the Mughal court, the emperor conferred on Shaykh Aḥmad the title Khān without his asking for it. But he declined the honour submitting to the emperor that he had already assumed the title *khākṣaya Aḥmad* (dust of the feet of Aḥmad, the Prophet); it had been engraved upon the ring worn by him and that he could not think of changing that title. The Pādshāh persisted and induced his *wazīr-i-a'ẓam* Asad Khān Bahādur, a devoted student of the grand-father of Shaykh Aḥmad to make the *jāgīrdār* of Jafarābād accept the title. When the *wazīr-i-a'ẓam* met Shaykh Aḥmad he said to him: "This humble man is tired of service; he understands that there is danger in accepting the title. He wishes to retire from service immediately and seclude himself from society, for there will be no danger in leading a secluded life." Saying this he returned home and kept himself in a secluded spot.

The emperor who valued highly men of merit more than anything else, sent Yār 'Alī Bēg Khān, the *bakhshī* of the chroniclers, to Shaykh Aḥmad inviting him to his presence.

He also conveyed to him the message: "The Shaykh mi act in accordance with his liking, but he should not the service, for it would be difficult for me to find god-fearing, devout and trustworthy officers." At the time the emperor got ready a *farmān* granting to Ahmad an allowānce of thirty-thousand rupees every year, and a *malbūs-i-khūss* and sent these to Aḥsanābād.

Shaykh Ahmad continued in service for two years after that incident and attended to his duties carefully and diligently, although he was pining for things everlasting. In the meanwhile a letter came from Hazrat Mawlawī Husayn Shahīd, well-known as Imām Ṣāhib Mudarris, and an unique man of his times. He was also the cousin brother of Shaykh Ahmad.

The letter from Mawlawī Husayn Shahīd contained information on religious and moral subjects; it also touched upon the vanity of worldly life. After reading that letter, he resigned his office and also returned the emperor the sum of rupees that was with him. He took to a life of seclusion. Howevermuch the emperor tried to bring him over to his view through the mediation of his *vazīr* and the *bakhshī*, yet he did not succeed in the attempt.

Shaykh Ahmad came to Arcot after some time and settled down there. During the remaining part of his life spent at Arcot, he was on good terms with Nawwab Sa'ādātullāh Khān Bahādur and used to meet him frequently. The Nawwāb who was steady in his friendship, paid Shaykh Ahmad two hundred rupees every month for the expenses of kitchen, and three hundred rupees to his two sons.

Shaykh Ahmad passed away on the 9th of Ramaḡān, 1134 A. H.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

Some days later when Sayyid Jawhar Khān, one of the nobles at the court of the imperial Pādshāh, who was on a visit to his friend Nawwāb Sa'ādaturrahmān Khān Bahādur, passed by the tomb of Shaykh Ahmad and stopped there on hearing the reading of the holy Qurān. He stayed for about an hour listening to the recitation of the holy book by the side of the tomb.

Now an account of the places that were on the way is resumed.

Dawlatpura has some houses, a few graves, and a new *chhatar* with a well. Chawpar maḥall, which existed there was demolished and converted into a *bāgh* for the residence of Mr. Rās. Then came the cattle-market, the Shāh-ganj bāzār, the Vellore gate (the name of one of the city gates), the Sūrajmal *bakhshī* bāzār, the Tipū Qalandar bāzār, the Mir Asadullāh Khān bāzār, the Maḥmūd Shāh bāzār, the Sarkār bāzār, the Rikāb bāzār.

The following is an account of Arcot.

At present the habitation of the *qāshba* of Arcot is in the direction of the south towards the river side. According to the official report, the total number of houses, big and small, excluding the houses and lodgings for *faqīrs*, is two thousand seven hundred and ninety four. There are three hundred and eighty-five shops.

Rānīpēttah and Wālājāhnakar are on the other side of the river. An account about these will be given later.

The details about mosques, houses of relics, *gunbad*, and tombs, are as follows:

1. *The Cathedral Mosque.*

In the courtyard of this mosque are the *ḥawz*, a well, the *gunbad* of Nawwāb Sa'adatullāh Khān Bahādur, and the graves of many orthodox muslims, such as Sayyid Muḥammad

Amīn who used to recite *dhikrullāh* even in his sleep, Qā Shaykh Maḥammad Talmisānī, and Muḥammad Abdu' Muftī known as Miyān ṣāhib. They paid great regard the observance of the laws of *sharī'at*. Niẓāmud-Dīn A' Khān Bahādur, son-in-law of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I is also buried there. Niẓāmud-Dīn Aḥmad Khān Bahādur was learned and pious. Despite his position as the *nā'ib* of the *ṣūbadār*, he imbibed the ideas of a *faqīr*.

2. The mosque inside the *qilā*.

3. The mosque of Shāh Ṣādiq Ḥusaynī Chishtī with a big *gunbad* where Shāh Ṣādiq and others are interred.

Abdu'l-Rashīd Khān Bahādur, the *madārul-muḥām* of the exalted Nawwāb who was distinguished for his trustworthiness and famous for his good will towards the people at large, is interred in the *charuk* of Nawwāb Dā'ūd-Khān. The *charuk* is the place where the camp-followers of Nawwāb Dā'ūd-Khān had their residence, and it is known popularly as *Pichhārī*.

All the three mosques described above are situated on the eastern side of the *dārul-amāra*.

4. The mosque and a house of relics maintained by the *sarkār* together with the *gunbad* of Pāpā ṣāhib.

Pāpā ṣāhib is the son of Muḥammad Makhdūm Sāwī Qādirī. The mosque was built by Makhdūm Sāwī.

5. The mosque with the *gunbad* of Shāh Aẓmatu'llāh Qādirī, and a well.

6. The mosque of Shaykh Nathhar.

7. The mosque of Mūrat Shāh.

8. The mosque of Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur with a well, a *sarāi* and the grave of Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur.

9. The mosque of Ḥaẓrat Tīpū Qalandar with a *gunbad*, well, *muṣāfar khāna*, and a *naqqār khānū*. At the foot of these is the *maqbara* of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang Bahādur built of

stone, but not completed. After the martyrdom of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang, his body was removed to Khujasta Bunyād Awrangābād and interred in the *maṭṭā* of Ḥaẓrat Burhānu'd-Dīn Charīb. But Muḥammad Mī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I out of gratitude, and good will, wanted to erect a *gunbad* in stone for depositing the remains of the Nawwāb Shahīd, but Nawwāb Wālājāh I passed away before the building was finished. All these mosques described above lie to the west of the *dārul-amāra*.

10. The mosque of Mawlawī Jamāl Alī.

11. The mosque of Sayyid Aḥmad known as Yā Pīr with a *gunbad*.

12. The mosque of Nawwāb Shamsu'd-Dawla known as Chandā ṣāliḥ. This mosque is famous as the mosque with one arch.

13. A mosque, the roof of which is covered with tiles, has the *māsār* of Ḥaẓrat Uthmān: Khān Sarwar.

14. The mosque of Miskīn Shāh with a *gunbad* of Amīn Pīr and a *muṣāfar* *khānā*.

15. The mosque with the *maqbara* of a Mughlānī.

16. The mosque of Ghulām Rasūl Khān.

17. The mosque of Shāh Ghulām Ḥusayn Dargāhī.

18. The mosque of Ḥafīẓ Abdul Azīz.

19. The mosque of Ḥafīẓ Karīmullāh with a *gunbad* and a *naqqār-khāna* on the northern side of the mosque.

*An account of the mosque and the tombs outside
the city wall*

The holy *gunbad* of Tājpurā has a mosque and a well whose water is sweet and clear. The graves of the family of Ṣibghatullāh, the graves of the ancestors of the author of this book, and of other people, together with a *khānqāh* are found

CH: III—DESCRIPTION OF ARCOT

in the area of that *gunbad*. The *chirāgh-khānā* is so beautiful that nothing in the whole of the Carnatic could be compared to it. It is not kept in good condition now. About forty years ago during the reign of Nawwāb Āmiru'l Umarā Bahādur, Shāh-ful-Mulk my uncle, and my noble father put forward proposals for repairing it. The Nawwāb, who was ever ready to do good works, carried out the repairs, and Shāh Şibghatullāh sāhib prayed from the bottom of his heart thus. "May Allāh, exalted be He, keep the light of the family of the Nawwāb burning for ever!"

The Almighty Who answers supplication granted the prayer of Shāh Şibghatullāh Sāhib, for it is well known that notwithstanding many impediments the *riyāsat* is still kept up in the family. May Allāh keep the light of the family burning for ever. It is not known who would have the good luck now to attend to the repairs of the *chirāgh-khānā*.

The *maqbara* of Bahādur Husaynī, and the *takya* of Khatil Pandu Sargurōh are outside the Nattharnakar gate. The *gunbad* of Bahādur Husaynī is on the southern side of the city wall and the *tākya* to the west of it.

The mosque of Aḥmad Ṭāhir Khān with his *gunbad*, and the tomb of Zaynu'd-Dīn Ali Khān well-known as Ustād are also outside the city. These two who belonged to the *nāil* community, were *manṣabdārs* of the Pādshāh.

The mosque with the *gunbad* of Sayyid Muḥammad Pīrẓāda built of stone, is in ruins.

The *gunbad* of Iḥāsan Pūra is built after a beautiful plan. It has a mosque, *khānqāh*, graves, and a well.

The *gunbad* of Iḥāzrat Antar Jāmī with an unfinished mosque, a *sarāi*, a *naqqār khānā*, and an *'idgāh*, are situated to the west of the city-wall towards the encampment of the van-guard of the army. This camp was well-known as *Bākārī*.

The *takyā* of Thābit 'Alī Shāh, contiguous to Ḥasanpūra, is on the banks of the river. It is an wonderful building enlivening feelings of joy. There is no building in that area which could be compared to it. The platform of the grave is like a tower with eight sides. The *muṣāḥar khāna*, a number of *sarāīs*, shady trees especially the stone-pavement under the shade of four *maulsirī* trees are so neat and elegant to remind one of the scenes of Kashmīr.

The *maqbara* of Sayyid Karīm Muḥammad Qādirī with a mosque, the roof of which is covered with tiles, the mosque of Sa'ādātmand Khān with a *gōristān*, the tile-roofed mosque of Abu'l-Ḥasan Dhākir are situated outside the Vellore-gate.

The mosque of Dā'ūd Bēg, the mosque with a *gunbad* of Ḥaẓrat Shāh Nāṣir, other graves, including the *maqbara* of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān, a *khānqāh*, a *ḍivān-khāna*, a *naqqār-khāna* a place of recreation with some trees, the mosque of Pūnjī, the *maqbara* of Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī Mutawallī, the platform of the grave of Yādullāh Shāh and other graves in the courtyard of Rangīn-mosque which is in ruins now owing to the destructive effects of flood—all these lie to the north of the river.

There are besides the mosques described above, a number of mosques and graveyards in this area. I could not inquire about these for want of time. Most of these are in ruins, and there remains no trace.

An account of the holy relics in this city

The renowned place in the town for the holy relics is the one under the management of the *sarkār*. This place was in charge of Ghulām Muḥiyu'd-Dīn during the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. These days, the descendants of Ghulām Muḥiyu'd-Din are looking after it. A sum of thirty rupees is fixed per month for the

expenses of *fātiḥa* and the maintenance of the men in servi-
there.

There is another house of relic which belongs to *sarkār*. It is contiguous to the *dārūl-amāra*. A sum of hundred rupees is fixed for its maintenance and ten men are employed there.

The descendants of *Zahīrūd-Dīn*, the *mutawalli* in Chandapēttah is in charge of the third house which belongs to the *sarkār* and situated near the *dārūl-amāra*.

There are also other houses of relics in charge of *Nīmatullāh Shāh Qādirī*, *Sayyid Makhdūm Baghdādī* in Chandā *Ṣāhib bāzār*, *Imām Shāh Qādirī* in *Shāh Ganj*, *Ghulām Muḥiy-
yu'd-Dīn Ananāsī*, *Ḥājī Dīwān*, and *Abdul-Raḥman* near the Vellore gate. The house of relic which has the footprint of the holy prophet is in *Akāri* and it is in charge of *Shāh Khali-
lullāh Qādirī*.

The bāzārs and important places inside the city

The bāzārs are: *Tipu Ṣāhib bāzār*, *Mir Asadullāh Khān bāzār*, *Maḥmūd Shāh bāzār*, *Rikāb bāzār*, *Qil'a bāzār*, *Qaṣbā bāzār*, *Dīwān bāzār*, *Shaykh Minhāj bāzār*, *Imām Ṣāhib Bakhsī bāzār*, *Chandā Ṣāhib bāzār*, and *Nāyar bāzār*. Besides these there are a number of other bāzārs stretching from the Vellore Gate as far as the Delhi Gate.

Chandāpettah is on the north towards the fort and the *dārūl-amāra*. The pettah of *Mir Ghulām Husayn Khān* is on the southern side adjoining the Nattharnakar Gate.

Kalastripēttah, *Narsamnāyakpūra*, *Bundalipālayam*, *Reddy-pālayam*, *Shanārpālayam*, *Kollarpālayam*, *Muppantattī*—all these are on the eastern side.

Shāh Ganj bāzār had come within the boundary of the Vellore Gate after the construction of the city wall.

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Wālājāh Ganj, Sūrajmal Bakhshī bāzār, Nawāzī bāzār, Mu'tabir Khān bāzār, Sayyid Muṣṭafā bāzār, Ṭāhir Khān bāzār, Ḥajī Diwān bāzār, Ṣāhibzāda bāzār, Kaṭwa bāzār, well known as Ghulām Husayn bāzār, Sayyid Muḥammad Pīrzāda bāzār, Khwājā bāzār, Dhanabāl Setthi bāzār, Zaynu'd-Dīn 'Alī Khān bāzār, Babarkhān bāzār, Kōnī Setthi bāzār, Imām Shāh Qādirī bāzār,—all these are outside the Vellore Gate.

The dwelling-places along the moat known in the language of the Hindus as *Āgal Mūr* are:

Dawlatpūra, Qaṣṣāb-duddī, Ḥasanpūra, Agārī, Jawharpūra the small, Jawharpūra the big, Mān-sāhibīpēttah, Miṣrī Khān chawki, Manjanpūra, Harāstpūra—all these are on the western side.

Mash'alchīpūra, Chawpahrmahal 'Abādī, Tōpklāna 'Abādī Ghālibpura—these are on the eastern side.

Tājpūra, and Tājklānpūra are on the southern side.

The gates of the city are:

The Vellore gate, Khān Bahādur gate, the Kaysar Singh Gate that is the Small gate, the Delhi gate, the Rāyji gate, the Kālastri gate, the Mānkāṭ gate, the Tājpura Gate and the Nattharnakar gate.

The following is the list of *bāghs* from Arcot as far as Wālājānakar:

The Naw lakh Bāgh, which became well known as the *A'zam Bāgh* after the arrival there of A'zam Jāh Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh IV.

The other *bāghs* are: The 'Alī-bāgh, the Ḥasan-bāgh, the Ḥusayn bāgh, the Munawwar-bāgh, the Anwar-bāgh, the Wālājāh-bāgh, the Nawwāb-bāgh also known as the Nawwāb 'Umadatu'l-Umarā bāgh, the Bēgam-bāgh, the Sayyid Muḥammad Khān-bāgh, the Sayyid Fataḥ 'Alī Khān-bāgh,

CH: III—DESCRIPTION OF SAINTS INTERRED IN ARCOT
 the Farahbāgh, and the Yak-lakh-bāgh. Besides these, there are also some *bāghs* which belong to the citizens.

An account of the city

These days Arcot is not a densely populated city. during the days of Nawwāb Dhu'l-Faqār Khān Bahādūr and Nawwāb Dāu'd-Khān, the *ṣūbadār*, and later on during the days of the *nā'it* rulers such as Nawwāb Sa'ādatu'llāh Khān Bahādūr, Nawwāb Alī Dōst Khān Bahādūr, Nawwāb Ṣafdar Alī Khān Bahādūr, and Nawwāb Shamsu'd-Dawla Bahādūr, the city of Arcot was said to be *Shāhjahānābad* the small. It maintained the same position during the *ṣūbadārī* of Anwaru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādūr Shāhīd, and in the early part of the reign of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh I. But a series of depredations by Ḥaydar Nāyak reduced the country to a wretched condition and the city of Arcot also gradually lost its vigour and declined in importance.

An account of the *walīs*, *ṣālihs* and *faqīrs* of the city is given in the following pages.

Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Alī Muḥammad Qādirī

Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Alī Muḥammad Qādirī was the grandson and *sajjād-nashīn* of Ḥaẓrat Shāh Ṣibghatullāh. He was acknowledged in his time by one and all as the foremost person among the observers of religious precepts. He resembled, in a manner, the *Sultānu'l-awliyā*. It is very difficult to describe his mental and moral qualities.

Once Tipū Qalandar, a *majlhūb* and one of the *khalīfas* of Ḥaẓrat Amīnu'd-Dīn was about to pay him a visit. By means of his secret power, he learnt about the time of the visit and told his servants: "A man is coming to meet me; cover me soon with a cloth."

Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Alī Muḥammad Qādirī received Tipū Qalandar with great respect, and had a talk with him. After

the departure of the guest, he uncovered himself like one intoxicated by drink and as a sword from the sheath.

Thousands of people became his *murīd*. Many of the ancestors of the author derived divine grace through him.

Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Ālī Muḥammad Qādirī has written a commentary on *Nafs-i-Raḥmānī* a work on *Taṣawwuf* by his father Ḥaẓrat Sulṭān Sayyid Ābdul-Raḥmān. The commentary is entitled *Tajalliyyat-i-Raḥmānī*. It discusses minutely every aspect of the subject.

If any one seeks the guidance of the *murshīd*, he received the benefit of real knowledge. He lived sixty-three years and passed away on the 7th of Rabī'ul-awwal, 1138 A. H. He is interred at the centre of the *gunbad* in Tājpūra.

Sayyid Muḥammad II

At the back of the holy *mazār* of Ḥaẓrat Ālī Muḥammad Qādirī, is the grave of his son Sayyid Muḥammad II famous as Dastgīr ṣāhib. He passed away on the 22nd of Shawwāl. His general excellence, and moral qualities are known to all. Yet a brief account of him is given below.

Sayyid Muḥammad II had many disciples. One of these is Ja'far Ālī Khān, the *jāgīrdār* of Kirkatpala. He gained the rank of a saint through his teaching. There is no need to describe his fame. If a disciple of the standing of Ja'far Ālī Khān could attain such a rank one might understand easily the degree of excellence and the good qualities of the *murshīd*.

Shāh Ṣībghatullāh II

Contiguous to the grave of Sayyid Muḥammad II is the tomb of Shāh Ṣībghatullāh II known as Ḥaẓrat Shāh. He was famous for his piety like his ancestors. His miracles appeared as brilliant as the midday sun. The following report

passes current. The hair on the back of the saint seem set itself with such precision that one could read between all the words of the *sūrat-i-ikhulās*.

He passed away on the 24th of *Dhu'l-Qa'da*, 1194 His beloved son, who bears the name of his grandfather and who is an ornament to the Carnatic because of his self-abnegation, purity of thought, devoutness and sincerity, has now succeeded his father.

May the Almighty God grant him long life so that he may show the right path to all those who seek his guidance.

Ḥaẓrat Thānī Shāh Şibghatullāh

He is the nephew of *Shāh Şibghatullāh I.* His piety and divinity are well known. He accompanied his grandfather *Ḥaẓrat Mīrān Sayyid Muḥammad* the teacher to the holy places in Arabia. After the demise of his grandfather at *Madīna* he returned to this country and settled down in Arcot. After some years he passed away on the 25th of *Shawwāl*. He is interred in the *qunbad* at *Ḥasanpūra*. By the side of his tomb is the grave of his successor *Sayyid Muḥammad*; at the back of it are the graves of his son *Sayyid Muḥiyyu'd-Dīn Qādirī* known as *Pīr Shāh ṣāhib*, and mother.

Ḥaẓrat Tīpū Qalandar

Ḥaẓrat Tīpū Qalandar was the most notable among the *majdhūbs* of his day. He performed many miracles. He spent most of his time underneath a *zaqqūm* tree¹ and considered it better to be away from habitation. If an animal was beaten by any body, it took effect immediately on the body of *Ḥaẓrat Qalandar* and he exclaimed loudly that he was beaten. Hence the passers by stopped beating the cattle out of regard for him. Generally *Ḥaẓrat Qalandar* was naked, but in the

1. An infernal tree, the fruit of which is supposed to be the heads of devils; a thorny tree, cactus, *Euphorbia antiquorum*.

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presence of five men he covered his private parts. Their names are: (1) Hāzrat Shāh Ṣiḡhatullāh, (2) the maternal grandfather of the author of this book. The other three names I forget just now.

Hāzrat Tipū Qalandar passed away on the 17th of Dhu'l-Qa'da. He is interred in that part of the city between Vellore gate and dārūl-amāra.

Hāzrat Antar Jāmī

His original name is Sayyid SIRRULLĀH. He was a resident of Baghdād. His lineage on the two ends is traced back to Hāzrat Ghawthūl-Warā. The name of his father was Sayyid Ālī and mother was Fataḡshāh Jāmī.

Hāzrat Antar Jāmī came to the Carnatic during the days of Nawwāb Sa'ādatullāh Khān Bahādur and settled down at the hill of Lālpēta. His celebrity was due to Muḡammad Aḡsanullāh Khān, a *nā'iṡ* and a *manṡabdār* of the Pādshāh. Throughout his life he was very dutiful to Jāmī, who was a *majdhub*, inspired and very often subjected to ecstasy. Sometimes he used to wear bangles like the *faqīrs* of Shāh Suhāk. When he spoke his intonation was like that of a lady.

When Muḡammad Aḡsanullāh Khān met him for the first time, Jāmī appeared in his eyes as a fierce lion. The Khān became unconscious for some time and then recovered himself.

The attribute *antar* explains the meaning of his name. *Antar* in Sanskrit means *come mysteriously*. The people who knew that language believed in him and made this name pass current.

He passed away on the 4th of Sha'bān, 1171 A. H. He is interred at the *khaymagāh* in Akāṡī.

Shāh Ghawḥ Jāmī Qādirī, son of Muḥammad Aḥsanul Khān, who found the divine grace through Jāmī is interred in front of his tomb, while the wife of Shāh is buried at the back of it.

Muḥammad Aḥsanullāh Khān and his elder brother Ḥusayn Yār Khān are buried outside the *gunbad* on the right and left respectively.

At present Mawlawī Ḥusayn Yār Khān, second son of Shāh Ghawḥ Jāmī Qādirī, a good man of praiseworthy character, is the *jināshīn* of the *dargāh*.

Ḥaẓrat Shāh Nāṣir

Ḥaẓrat Shāh Nāṣir was regarded as a worthy man of his day. He was in a midcourse between ecstasy and normal state. He passed away on the 25th of Shawwāl and is interred by the river bank on the northern side.

The following people also are buried in that place: Khayru'd-Dīn Khān the senior, his wife Karīmu'n-nisā Bēgam known as Ḥaẓrat Bēgam ṣāḥiba the younger sister of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, and the children of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān:

(1) Ghulām Pīr styled as Ṣamsāmu'd-Dawla Khayru'd-Dīn Khān Bahādur Ṣamsām Jang, the son-in-law of Nawwāb Wālājāh I;

(2) Amīru'd-Dawla 'Abdu'l-Qādir Khān Bahādur Amīr Jang. He was of a very good nature. The whole day he busied himself with religious duties and saying prayers. He was an excellent person. He had great regard for the author of this book.

(3) I'timādu'd-Dawla 'Abdu'l-Wālī Khān Bahādur,¹ the second son-in-law of Nawwāb Wālājāh I. He was a pious man

(1) 'Abdu'l Wālī Khān Bahādur's title is given as *I'tisāmu'd-Dawla Haybat Jang* by the author of *Sawānīḥāt Mumtāz*. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic, Part IV*, p. 103, Madras University.

who paid regard to men of merit. He was a sincere friend of my father.

(4) Muḥammad Jān-i-Jāhān Khān, who was of a genial disposition ;

(5) Jangli Bēgam, the daughter of Khayru'd-Dīn Khān and the wife of Amīru'd-Dawla.

(6) Rizā Husayn the eldest son of Jangli Begam.

May Allāh forgive them all.

Hazrat 'Uthmān Khān Sarwar.

Ḥazrat 'Uthmān Khān Sarwar was the most unique man of his age. He was the nephew of Nawwāb Tahawwur Khān Bahādur, the good *bakhshī* and a big *amīr* in the government of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang Bahādur Shahīd. He was a great *wāli* although preponderantly devoted to the affairs of this life. He was like a treasure hidden in a desert. He lived in a dark hut without any ostentation like a faded light, at Chandāpētraḥ adjoining the rivulet. He cut off his beard but grew moustaches. He did not allow any one to enter his door, and he was like a royal pearl hidden in a shell. The reason for his fame is that he cured the father of the author of this book from acute dysentery by writing out three *naqsh* which were washed in water and taken in three times. The patient was completely restored to health.

He was very pious, devout and a fighter for the Faith. If any one desired initiation as a disciple he admitted him to the *qādiriyya-silsila*.

Ḥazrat Sarwar had his training as a poet under Mīrzā Mazhar Jānjānān. He is also the author of a small *dīwān* in the Hīndī language.

Shāh 'Azmatullāh Qādirī.

Shāh 'Azmatullāh Qādirī is a well known *mashāyikh* and a saint.

Sayyīd Aḥmad

Sayyīd Aḥmad was known as *Yā Pīr*. He renounced the world and became the *khalīfa* of Shāh Aẓmatullāh Qāḍī. He was a pious man.

Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī

Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī is from the *nā'it* community, and a disciple of Shāh Kalīmullāh Dehlawī. He lived during the period of Nawwāb 'Alī Dōst Khān Bahādur. He held first the post of *ba'ḥshī* and later as *dārogha-i-'adāla'*. But his piety and constancy in religion are beyond description. Every day he used to say his prayers five times in congregation at the mosque in *Baytu'l-ḥarām*; for hundreds of people from this country who had been to pilgrimage at Makka have seen him there and reported this after their return to the people of that time. Many of his contemporaries who are still living at this city have confirmed this fact to the writer of this book. Thus there is no room for doubt in this matter.

Shāh Muḥammad 'Alī passed away on the 3rd of Ṣafar. He is buried in the *maḥalla* of Ahmad Kalīm Khān.

Yādullāh Shāh

Yādullāh Shāh lived in Arcot about forty-eight years ago. Nothing is known about his lineage, fraternity of *darwēshes* to whom he belonged and his native home. But he was a pious man, a *majdhūb*; the nature of his utterances perplexed the listeners. Whenever any one approached him seeking his aid, he would pour out in a distracted state of mind, without waiting for the visitor to speak out. Every word would be interspersed with expression *Yādullāh* and the sum total of his utterance will indicate the purpose for which the visitor came, and also the scope of the issue. If it is to end in success the words will be appropriate to that, or if it is to end in failure the words will be suitable for that.

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A few days before his death he was saying constantly thus : “ I would purchase a horse for riding ”. Just then an unscrupulous Afghān, hoped to get some money by killing him, made him a martyr. But, after a short while, the murderer was caught by the orders of the Raja Bīrbar, the *nā'ib* of the *ṣūba* of Arcot, and was put to death. This incident brings out the meaning of the assertion of the *Shāh*. By horse he meant the murderer, that is: he would, on the Day of Judgment, ride on the back of the murderer.

Amīn Pīr

Amīn Pīr was famous as Amīn *ṣāhib* Chahū. He is interred in the Maḥmūd *shāh* *bāzār* at the northern lane adjoining the house of Sayyid Farīdu'd-Dīn *Khān*, the *ex-kotwāl*. It is said that he had all the qualities of a *ghawth*. Every Thursday his limbs fall asunder.¹ He was forty-six years of age at the time of his death.

Kamtū Shāh

Kamtū *Shāh* is interred in the meadow known as Ramna at the back of the rock. The place was originally known as *Karīwa chināl bandā* for the prostitutes used to flock there during night time for immoral acts. After a mosque was erected there it was known as *Nūr bandā* or *Islām bandā*.

Kamtū *Shāh* was a holy man. It is reported that when Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang visited this place, he donned ordinary clothes and went out to pay a visit to this saint during a dark night. Just then the Nawwāb saw the *Shāh* inclining his head deeply absorbed in meditation while his forehead threw out light like a full-moon. As soon as the *Shāh* heard the sound of footstep, he asked “ Who are you ? wherefrom

(1) A title of Muslim saints, whose ardour of devotion, according to common tradition, is such that in the act of worship their hand and limbs fall as under.

you come ?” The Nawwāb replied, “ I am a stranger to name Sayyid Aḥmad.” He said, “ I don't understand you. Inform me about your identity.”

The Nawwāb explained, “ This very sinner is defamed Nāṣir Jang by the people at large.” He said “ Why a person of such high rank like you and the *wazīr* of the Deccan, should come here in this manner?”

Nāṣir Jang replied “ I hate the pomp and power of royalty I desire the rank of a martyr.”

The saint retorted, “ O Bābā! you are a man of the world. Why don't you speak out the truth?”

The Nawwāb gave the following reply, “ You can ascertain the truth of my statement by means of your secret powers.”

The saint exercised his mind in contemplation upon this and understood that the Nawwāb had spoken the truth and he was fit to receive martyrdom. Then he told the Nawwāb, “ O Bābā! Be happy. Free your mind from sorrow and anguish. The Lord will bless you with the sherbet-cup of martyrdom. It behoves on you to be firm. You would attain everlasting fame.”

Some time passed after this incident. There was a heavy and continuous downpour of rain from the beginning of the month of *Dhū'l-ḥajj* till the 16th of *Muḥarram*. The rain did not abate, and there was great damage to property and loss of cattle. During this period of confusion and anxiety the mischief-makers got busy, and carried on underhand plot. Especially *Himmat Khān* the ungrateful *Afghān*, who was brought up in the family of the Nawwāb, was cruel to his benefactor. He shot at the Nawwāb and made him fall as a martyr on the 17th of *Muḥarram*, 1164 A. H.¹

1. See appendix for the verses which bring out the chronogram of the death of Nawwāb Nāṣir Jang.

Kāskē Miyān Ṣāhib

The grave of Kāskē Miyān Ṣāhib is found in a lane which lies on the way to the Nāyar bazar, and at a short distance on the northern side from the *dārūl-amāra*. He is a famous saint. If any one wishes fulfilment of his desires, he intends that it shall end in success with the help of this saint, and he achieves his purpose quickly by the help of Allāh.

Turtā-turt Bibī

Turtā-turt in the Dakhni language means 'in haste'. There was a grave by the mote alongside of the Nattharnagar gate. When the foundations were dug for constructing the city wall, that grave was disturbed, and blood began to ooze out. When the spot was excavated the body of a woman dressed in white robes and enjoying rest, was sighted. Immediately they covered the pit and set right the ground. Such women who may be styled as Rābi'as¹ of their days are too many. Likewise there are many *walis*, *ṣālihs* and *darwēshes* rest underneath the ground. There remains no trace of them. May Allāh bless us with their help.

Now I proceed to give a brief account of the activities of the Nawwāb every day at Arcot.

On the 23rd at 3 P.M. the Nawwāb went out to pay a visit to the tombs of Ḥaṣrat Tīpū Awliyā, Ḥaṣrat Antar Jānī, the saints at Ḥasanpūra, and Shāh Aḥmatullāh Qādirī and to the government house of relics under the management of the descendants of Ḥaḥīrūḍ-Dīn Khān. Dargāh honours were paid to the Nawwāb at these places. At the *dargāh* of Ḥaṣrat Tīpū Awliya the Nawwāb was presented with a

1. Rābi'a is one of the most renowned female saints. She belonged to the tribe of Adī, whence she is generally called *al-Adawiyya*. She was a native of Baṣra and died at Jerusalem, probably towards the end of the second century of Islam. Her tomb was an object of pilgrimage in the Middle Ages.

CH: III—JĀGIRDAR OF WALKANDAPUR MEETS THE NAWWĀB
dastār, an arrow and a bow ; at the *dargāh* of Ḥaẓrat An-
Jāmi with a *dastār* only.

Then he visited Shurafu'l-Umarā Bahādur and Najr
Mulk Bahādur and inquired about their health.

On the 24th he took his seat in a golden *sukhsāwa* and
set out to Rānīpētah, where a river flows, for sight-seeing and
holding review of troops. He returned in the evening.

Rānīpētah has five thousand houses, five hundred shops,
some mosques, two tanks, seven wells, twenty *bāghs*, a number
of barracks, and a beautiful garrison.

Ḥasan 'Alī Khānpēta, Lālapēta and other places are
dependencies under Rānīpētah.

On the 25th the ceremony of *chilal* was celebrated at the
house of the new *maḥall*, when men of rank were invited to
dinner at night. The author of this book was also invited but
could not go as he had swelling in the leg.

The three sons of 'Alī Nawāz Khān, the *qil'adār* of
Arcot, who were presented to the Nawwāb, were honoured with
torahs of food from the royal kitchen.

On the 26th Ḥasan Rizā Khān Bahādur 'Anbar Khānī,
the *jāgīrdār* of Wālkandapūr and his son Ḥaydar Ḥusayn
Khān, paid a visit to the Nawwāb at about 8 P.M. and sub-
mitted *nadhṛ*. They were honoured by the Nawwāb with
presents of *'iṭr*, *gulāb* and *pāndān*. In the meanwhile the
head-steward of the kitchen submitted various lists of accounts
for the perusal of the Nawwāb. Among these were the lists
showing the expenditure on the celebration of the *fātiḥas* in
memory of Ḥaẓrat Amīru'l-mu'minīn Abū Bakr Siddīq the
first *khalīfa* after the Prophet of Islām, and Ḥaẓrat Ayesha
Siddīqa, the most beloved consort of the Prophet and the
mother of the Faithful. When the Nawwāb found the re-
ference to these two names, he pronounced an eulogy on each

of these, although it was galling to some of the *rāfiqīs* present at the *majlis*.

The General, who was in command of the army at Arcot, came to meet the Nawwāb, and he was, as usual, honoured with *tōrah* of food from the royal kitchen.

On the 27th Ḥasan Riḏā Khān Bahādur Anbar Khānī, the *jāgīrdār* of Wālkandapūr and his sons were presented with *tōrah* of five trays. Qāzī Asadu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān, and 'Abbās Ḥusayn Khān son of Muḥammad Aḥsanullāh Khān who had come to meet the Nawwāb were presented with *tōrah* of two trays.

On the 28th, before sunrise, the Nawwāb dressed in *nīm-āstīn* and a white *gōsh-pech shāl*, sat in a golden *sukhsāwan* and set out to Vellore at a distance of fifteen miles from Muḥammadpūr (Arcot). He was accompanied by some nobles seated in palanquins, horsemen, and others.

The Nawwāb alighted from the *sukhsāwan* outside the Vellore gate, and got into a *bahal* drawn by horses. After reaching Kanchnīgunṭa at a distance of two miles from Vellore, the Nawwāb took his seat in a howdah along with his happy brother, and arrived at Vellore at 9 A.M. As usual a salute of guns was fired from the fort and the flag was hoisted. The colonel and the adjutants with armed men were present to welcome our mighty ruler, and arrayed the forces on the *maydān* opposite the fort to pay homage to the Nawwāb. A huge crowd also collected on all sides to catch a glimpse of the *sawārī* of the Nawwāb. The colonel and his armed men accompanied the Nawwāb till he reached his tent. After arrival, the colonel and others were honoured with presents of *pāndān*, etc., and were given leave to depart. They were also given *tōrah* of seven trays and five trays.

CH: VILLAGES ON THE WAY TO VELLORE

The *bāsārs* and other places that were on the way have been noticed already.

Of the numerous mosques, and tombs, mention may be made of the *maqbara* of Sayyid Shāh Ismā'il Qādirī Mult and Banī Shāh Qādirī. These two were eminent *shaykhs*.

Harāstpūra has one hundred and twelve houses, six shops, and three *bāghs*.

Namakpēta the big has a mosque and the *gunbad* of a *sayyid*, a saintly person who lived about seventy years ago. There is no endowment for the maintenance of the mosque or the *gunbad*. The *labābin* of the place, who are very zealous Muslims built the mosque and the *gunbad*, and maintain them out of their honest living. They applied for help from the Nawwāb.

There are at Namakpēta a well and a *chattar* built by Sulṭān'u'n-nisā Bēgam known as Budhī Bēgam, the eldest daughter of Muḥammad Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, two hundred and fifty-six houses, fifteen shops, and four *bāghs*.

Between Namakpēta and a village situated after it, is a deep cleft in a rock, of the stature of a man, made by the vehement lashings of water. It looks like a well and during the rainy season water which flows out of it, joins the Arcot river.

Nandiyālam has some houses of weavers, a few thatched houses, one tank, a shop, and a few thousands of palmyra-trees out of which *nira* is extracted. Most of the inhabitants of Arcot and Vellore drink the juice of this tree and make themselves detestable. The road for two bowshot distance from this village is paved with stones, else there is the danger of men and cattle being hopelessly bogged in the mud during the rainy season.

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Kilmannal is a small village. It is also known as Mörkulam or Majgī gunta. 'There is a well in that village. By the side of it people who sell curd and buttermilk gather in large numbers. In the *Arwi* language *mör* means buttermilk.

This well marks the farthest limit of the *ṣūba*.

The *mānsil* Purāk together with a village near by has some houses, huts, a *mandaf*, four shops, four or five wells, and a small fort in ruins, known as Lālgarī. This was granted as *jāgīr* to Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur by Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I. Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur son of Mīr Asadullāh Khān Bahādur, also enjoyed this *jāgīr* throughout his life.

Arpāk has forty houses, a *mandaf* and five shops; Parmī has a mosque built by Mīr Ismā'īl Khān Bahādur together with graves, mango trees, a *chatar*, a well, two shops, and the tomb of Khankar Shāh Mastān, one of the descendants of Lāl Shāhbāz who passed away about forty years ago.

Albilmangāpūr also known as Ālmilmangāpūr, was the *jāgīr* of Qāzī Sayyid 'Alī during the days of 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh II. It has seventy houses, four shops, one tank, a well, a *chatar* and a *mandaf*.

One of the camels that carried goods died here. It belonged to the company and was sent along with the army of the Nawwāb.

Kanchnī-gunta is a dependency of Sivāchērī.

All these villages together with the *mānsil* are situated on the west of the Vellore gate.

Bēgampūra inside the first gate is contiguous to Murtaẓā-guṛa. The paper manufactured there is clear and smooth. Bēgampūr paper is very famous.

CH: III—DESCRIPTION OF VELLORE

Vēlūr is also known as Rāy Vēlūr. In olden times it was the *jāgīr* of Nawwāb Ghulām Ālī Khān the *pālaygār* and brother of Nawwāb Sa'ādattullāh Khān Bahādur. After his death, his son Nawwāb Bāqir Ālī Khān was the *jāgīrdār*. Then it came into the possession of his son Nawwāb Ghulām Murtaẓā Khān Bahādur Dhū'l-Faḡār Jang. When power and authority of the *ṣūba* of Arcot which included eighty-four *jāgīrs* and various forts, passed from the hands of the children of the *nā'i* community, known as the *nawayaḷ*, to Muḡammad Ālī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I, the forts of Vellore also came into his possession. The *jāgīrdār* of Vellore became a prisoner of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, and died in that condition. This is a long story and out of place here.

When Vellore came under the power of Nawwāb Wālājāh I, it was assigned by way of *taṃghā* to the crown prince 'Umdatul-Umarā Bahādur. Its revenue in previous years was five lakhs and twenty-five thousand rupees. But the addition of Sarwāpali and other places now enhances the revenue to nine lakhs.

In spite of the general unhappy state of affairs in the Carnatic, Vellore is well populated. It is said that various kinds of buildings number more than ten thousand. The shops will be about three hundred in number. There are also wells, especially the well *Malik-sundar* is like a fountain and the *Sūraj-gunta* is well known as *Sūr-gunta*.

There are also some graves, a *gunbad*, and eight mosques, and more than thirty *takya* of *faqīrs*.

The fort is a very strong one and in the whole of the Carnatic there is not a fort, barring the *qil'a* of Madras, so firm and solid as this. It is surrounded on all sides by a deep moat; contiguous to the fort are three high hills named as *sājara*, *kūjara*, and *murtaẓāgārā*. Each one of these is

like a firm castle, well-secure, and suited for defensive works. But if any one of these were to fall into the hands of the enemy, then there is great danger to the defenders of the fort.

Now I proceed to give a brief account of pious men who are interred there.

Ḥaḥrat Nūr Muḥammad Qādirī

Ḥaḥrat Nūr Muḥammad Qādirī was the most unique man regarded as an invaluable person of his age. Very often he was the cause of the ruin of temples. Some of these were laid waste. He selected his own burial ground in the vicinity of the temple.

In brief, he was a virtuous person. Although he lived five hundred years ago, people at large still remember his greatness.

Ḥaḥrat Shāh Abū'l-Ḥasan Qādirī Qurbī

Ḥaḥrat Shāh Abū'l-Ḥasan Qādirī Qurbī was a *Sayyid* and regarded with deference. He was one who had tasted the joys of religious transport. He was very virtuous, pious and religious acting in conformity to the ordinances of *shara*. He was much spoken of in his times for his virtues. If any one has the desire to learn more about his greatness he may refer to the works of Mawlawī Muḥammad Bāqir Āgāh of Vellore, the most learned man of his times and an embodiment of all perfection, who was an intimate and grateful disciple of Shāh Abū'l-Ḥasan Qādirī Qurbī, and would derive great benefit by going through his works.

Shāh Abū'l-Ḥasan Qādirī Qurbī passed away on the 20th of Ramazān, 1182 A. H.

Sayyid Abdu'l-Laṭīf Dhawqī

Sayyid Abdu'l-Laṭīf Dhawqī is well-known by the name Sayyid Muḥiyū'd-Dīn Dhawqī, may Allah's mercy be upon him. He was a favourite son of his father, inheriting his good nature and the excellence of his character.

Dhawqī was a great scholar in Persian and pre-eminent in his knowledge of rhetoric and prosody. He could recite *Gulistān* without any difficulty from beginning to end.

He passed away ten days before the invasion of Ḥaydar Nāik, that is, on the 13th of Rajab, 1194 A.H. He is interred by the side of the tomb of his father adjoining the fort.

Shāh Ali Husaynī Chishtī

Shāh Ali Husaynī Chishtī is one of the old *mashayikhs* and a well-known saint in these parts. It is nearly one hundred years since he was laid to rest. In the precincts of the *maqbara* where Shāh is interred, tombs of a few other pious men are also found. The construction of the *maqbara* is symmetrical and beautiful to look at. The *ṣaḥn* before the *maqbara* is very spacious and wide. The shade of the *marolsarī* trees in the *ṣaḥn* is as cool as the breeze of the spring season. A glance at these lightens the eye and comforts the mind. A mosque and a *gunbad* of his grandson together with a *khāngāh* are situated in its compound. There is also a *naqqar-khāna*.

Ḥazrat Ali Sulṭān

Ḥazrat Ali Sulṭān was a person dark in complexion; a *majdhūb* who belongs to the *chishtīyya* order. It is said during the time of Ḥaydar Nāik's invasion there was such a severe restriction of egress and ingress that no one had seen the like of it before. Despite such severe check Ḥazrat Ali Sulṭān got into the encampment like a light breeze. Ḥaydar Nāik suspected him to be a spy, and gave orders to remove him from the place. But after a while he was found there again. Ḥaydar Nāik again got him removed, but there he was. When he was removed for the third time, he appeared again on the same spot. Ḥaydar Nāik got very wild and gave orders for killing him. The executioners, out of helplessness, carried out the order given by the master.

Next day Ḥaḥrat Ālī Sulṭān appeared before the eyes of Ḥaydar Nāik as a living person, and this excited his anger to a great degree, for he thought that the executioners did not carry out his order. Then Ḥaydar Nāik got him executed in his own presence and sent away the dead body outside the encampment. Such was the punishment meted out to the spies.

On the same day when Ḥaydar Nāik saw Ḥaḥrat Ālī Sulṭān walking in the encampment, he was thrown into a fright, and the colour of his face also changed. He apologized for his fault and presented to the saint as *naḥr a duruḥhī bānāt* with one hundred rupees. As the pious do not accept presents from tyrants, Ḥaḥrat Ālī Sulṭān distributed the money and the cloth among the soldiers and went away.

Shortly after this incident Ḥaḥrat Ālī Sulṭān passed away on the 10.h of Shā'bān.

Amin Pir

Amin Pir was a porter. No one ever knew that he had attained moral perfection. The eyes of ordinary men could not judge his real worth. One day an oil-presser engaged him at a low wage, put on his head a heavy bag and followed him without compunction. But the oil-presser was filled with wonder at the fact that while other porters demanded more wages for lesser weight, this porter agreed for a low wage to carry a heavier load. He decided to ascertain from him the reason for his accepting a lower wage. Just then the oil-presser directed his eyes at him and discovered to his great surprise that the heavy bag placed by him on the head of the porter was one cubit above his head and was rolling along like a piece of cloud. When he saw that, the oil-presser could not control himself. Immediately he fell at the feet of Amin Pir, the porter and became his faithful disciple.

When Amīn Pīr knew that the secret of his personality was discovered by others, he felt great sorrow, and this was the cause for the break down of his health. Shortly after he passed away. He is interred at the *maydān* of the fort. The oil-presser celebrates the *urs* of the *pīr* every year with great devotion.

Shāh Luṭfullāh Qādirī

Shāh Luṭfullāh Qādirī was a relation and a *khalīfa* of Ḥaẓrat Qurbī. His training under Qurbī enabled him to attain great proficiency in Persian and also in the theology of *ṣūfis*. He was a good man. He always lived in seclusion.

Shāh Luṭfullāh Qādirī passed away on the 3rd of Dhu'l Q 'da, 1229 A. H. nine days after the demise of my revered teacher. Qādirī is interred in the *ṣahn* of the *ḍirwān khāna* of his own house inside the town by the side of the mosque of Shamsu'd-Dawla.

Ṣāhib Pādshāh Qādirī

Ṣāhib Pādshāh Qādirī, a relation of Ḥaẓrat Qādir Pādshāh on him be peace, was a resident of Kaysarmaṛū. He was a good man of praiseworthy character. About three or four years ago he died of slight fever. It is related that three days after he had the attack of fever, he invited to his bedside those who came to the mosque to say prayer and requested them to go over to his place two days hence, which happened to be a Friday, and take leave of him as he was departing from life that day. When the people assembled there heard that, they all laughed at it, and did not believe his words. On Friday people came to the mosque and assembled as usual for prayers. After the prayer the Pīr called those assembled at the mosque. They went to his bed-side rather reluctantly. The Pīr requested them to pray for his soul as he was departing this life.

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They replied, "We are in need of blessings from pious men like you. We don't have the courage to open our lips in your holy presence." The Pīr said, "I do not know by whose prayer I will get remission of my sins. That is why I requested you all to pray for my soul." Then he said *As-salāmu-'alaykum*. They replied "*Wa 'alaykumu's-salām*. The Pīr stretched his legs and covered himself with the *chādar*. Then with the words *Yā Hū* he breathed his last. He is interred near the city gate by the High road.

Bakhshī Bēgam

Bakhshī Bēgam is the step mother of Tippū Sulṭān Shahīd. She is interred adjoining the tomb of Shāh 'Alī 'Usaynī, along with a few other members of her family. The *gunbad* over the tomb is grand and majestic. There is a mosque near the tomb. The small garden there is full of verdure; it contains vineyards and fruit gardens besides flower plants; especially the rose looks very beautiful and pleasant.

The people who live there report that when the tomb of the Bēgam ṣāḥiba was excavated after a year for the purpose of erecting a permanent structure, the grave clothes were found to be white and clean and the body in sound condition.

Beside the tomb of the Bēgam ṣāḥiba there are a number of graves. Nawwāb 'Alī Dōst Khān also is interred there.

A'zam Jāh Bahādūr Nawwāb Wālājāh IV after saying the *after-noon-prayer* rode on horse-back to have a look at the city.

He paid a visit to the tombs of Amīn Pīr and 'Alī Sulṭān Majdhūb and as usual paid them *nadhṛ*. Thence he went outside the Ṭaṭṭa gate to meet 'Āṭā Shāh Majdhūb known to him from the time of his accession to the throne. After meeting him he presented him with some rupees.

CH: III—THE NAWWAB'S JOURNEY TO HUSAYNABAD

Then he paid a visit to the tomb of Shāh Luṭfullāh and offered *fātiḥa*. He met there a *majdhūb* by name Mīr Ṣāḥil who had arrived recently, and requested him to invoke blessing. It began to rain just then and the Nawwāb took shelter in the *maqbara* of Ḥaẓrat Shāh Abū'l-Ḥasan Qurbī. There he offered *fātiḥa* and gave presents to those in the *mazārs*.

The Nawwāb took his residence in the house of the grandson of Shāh Abū'l-Ḥasan Qurbī. The grandson of Qurbī had gone to Bālaghāt. But his son who is named after his own grandfather was present at the house. This young man, despite his age, was prudent and possessed great dignity. For two days he entertained the guests in a manner befitting their high rank. The guests included the noble mother of the Nawwāb, his *mahalls*, princes and princesses and others. The writer of this book also partook of his hospitality.

The young host arranged for a feast on the second day after the arrival of the royal guests, and invited to it all the retinue, civil and military of the Nawwāb and his noble mother who were about two hundred in number. He also presented the Nawwāb with a *tasbīḥ* of cornelian stone, one of the relics of Khwāja Banda Nawāz and a white *dastār*.

On the 29th at about 9 a.m. the Nawwāb got into a golden *sukhsāwan* and started to Ḥusaynābād known as Kaylāsgadh accompanied only by a few of his companions. Ḥusaynābād, was once the *jāgir* of 'Āqibat Maḥmūd Khān, father of Nawwāb Badru'd-Dīn Ḥusayn Fhān. This is situated at a distance of six miles from Vellore and it is about one-fourth of Vellore in size.

The Nawwāb had his breakfast at Ḥusaynābād and stayed there the whole of afternoon. He said the *after-noon-prayer* there and left that place about half an hour before sunset and returned to his encampment.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

There are two roads from Vellore to Husaynābād. One route is along side of Chitpīrī tank. If one follows this route, he would come across the *gunbad* of Nāzuk Ratan who was the slave-girl of Abdullāh Khān, the *jāgirdār* of Vellore in ancient times. There are different versions of the story of Nāzuk Ratan. The substance of all this is that she had all the virtues of a saint.

Two or three villages also lie along this route.

The second road is opposite to the fort towards the south along the *sirāj-gunta* and the *idgāh*. The barracks of the English army are situated along this road, which is very wide like a *maydān*.

There are two villages near Husaynābād. One is Agampāk, on the north-east. It has a few huts and a tank. Another is Arūr which has a mosque, two wells, a tank, fifty-houses, two shops, and a choultry.

The Nawwāb's equipage took the *sirāj-gunta* road, while the writer of this book and some of the Nawwāb's companions went along the Chitpīrī tank road as it was a short-cut and it had more traffic. Further the path was paved with stones from beginning to end, and was fit not only for pedestrians, but also for those on horse-back and mounted on other vehicles. The scenery on the eastern side of this road presented a very pleasant appearance on account of the greenness of vegetation. When we proceeded along this road, the sky was not clear; it was cloudy, and the scenery to our right and left was exhilarating. To our right the tank water was stirred with waves producing quick succession of light sounds; to our left the green grass was vibrating with sinuous or sweeping motions. This beautiful scenery on the right and left soothened the nerves of the travellers and consold their minds. Just then it began to drizzle and

mitigate the heat of the day to a very great extent. Thus we arrived at the *manzil* with gr̄eat happiness and comfort.

The Nawwāb ṣāḥib did not ask me to follow him Ḥusaynābād, yet I had to go there for two reasons. On my maternal grandmother is interred there and it is my duty to pay a visit to her tomb. Another reason is I have to write an account of the *manzils*, for I am commissioned to do so by the Nawwāb. By the time I reached that *manzil* and offered *fātiḥa*, the Nawwāb with his equipage had left Ḥusaynābād and covered a distance of about two bow-shot distance.

An account of Ḥusaynābād is given below

Ḥusaynābād is a *pargana* yielding an income of seventy-thousand rupees. It has a mosque. The houses, about a hundred, have roofs covered either with tiles or thatch. There are twelve shops and a number of *bāghs*. The mango fruit available there is very well-known. It is very sweet with good smell. It is without fibre and the rind is very thin. The names of some of the varieties are: *Shāḥpasand*, *Badrūd-Dīn Ḥusayn Khān pasand*, *Bāgh-panchdar*, *Ām-gadhīmāru*. The last variety is known as such because the raw mango was so hard like a stone that when a donkey was beaten with that, it could not bear the severity of pain and died. Hence it became famous by that name.

What shall I say about the fort there? The water and air there, are poisonous. During the days of Muḥammad Āli Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I and especially during the period of Āzīm-ud-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh III, the prisoners who deserved severest punishment, were adorned with an iron collar, and iron chains on arms and legs, and sent to that fort which was like a hell. Sometimes the prisoners came out safe after serving their term, but most of them died very soon on account of the poisonous effect of the atmosphere there.

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The Nawwāb started on his journey from Vellore to *Dāru'l-amāra* Madras before sun-set and a salute of guns was fired in honour of his departure. On the way the Nawwāb tarried for a short while, and paid a visit to *Atā Shāh Majdhūb*. The Nawwāb returned to his tent at about 3 o'clock in the morning. That day which happened to be Tuesday, was the 1st of Ramazān.

On the 1st of Ramazān, the Nawwāb after saying the *after-noon-prayer* got into a golden *sukhsāwan* and went to the *Bāgh-i-Rāijī*. He returned to his camp in the evening.

On the 2nd of Ramazān at about 10-30 A.M. he left for the *jāgīr* Kalwa at a distance of ten miles from Vellore. The Nawwāb rode in a carriage drawn by horses while a few of his companions seated in palanquins followed him. When the Nawwāb got near the bank of the *Nitpāk* tank, he found the path along the bank narrow. So he alighted from the carriage, got into a golden *sukhsāwan*, continued his journey and reached the *jāgīr* Kalwa about mid-day.

The villages that came on the way are :

Mānkāth is situated on the southern side of the tank. It has fifty houses and two shops. Contiguous to this village are an oil-mill, some shops, and a well. *Nitpāk* also is like *Mānkāth*. It has a big tank.

Pīpāk has some houses and two or three shops.

Kalwa is situated towards south-east. It has a mosque and two *maqbaras* besides the tombs in the compound of the mosque. There are two hundred and twenty houses, thirty shops, a tank, and two wells. The water in one of the wells is very sweet and of pleasant taste; it is also reputed to have some substance capable of aiding digestion.

In the past Kalwa was the *jāgīr* of *Zaynu'l-Ābidīn Khān Jaddī*. He was a man of kindly disposition. In spite of the

limited income of forty-thousand rupees he used to give as gift from one rupee to thousand to all those who sought his help. He never sent away empty-handed any one who came to his door.

The Nawwāb paid a visit to that place because the late Bādshāh Bēgam was interred there. She was one of the noble wives of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wāljāh I, and the grand-daughter of Zaynu'l 'Ābidīn K'ān Jaddī by his son Ṣafdar Ḥusayn Khān. Another reason was Rāḥatu'n-nisā Bēgam also was interred there. She was the daughter of the sister of Bādshāh Bēgam and the wife of Amīru'l-Um Bahādur. These two ladies were buried in the compound of the mosque.

As the Nawwāb wanted to pay respects to these departed souls, he paid a visit to Kalwa. It is one of the virtues of the Nawwāb to comfort the departed souls and to cheer up the living ones. May Allāh keep his name alive in this world and bestow on him the best here and in the hereafter.

The Nawwāb went into the mosque at the time of the *after-noon-prayer*, and after saying prayers, he offered *fātiḥa* to his grandmothers. Then he went to the *maqbara* of Mastān Walī one of the well-known saints; thence to the *maqbara* of Shāh 'Izzu'd-Dīn Ḥusaynī Chishtī, one of the descendants of Ḥaḍrat Tēgh Barhana, the sister's son of Khwāja Banda Nawāz.

The Nawwāb returned to his tent after offering *fātiḥa* in all these places.

Ṣafdar Ḥusayn Khān, the younger brother of the second *maḥall* of Nawwāb ṣāḥib sent him some sweets and salad dishes. The Nawwāb accepted them with pleasure, ate them and sent presents to those who prepared the dishes.

At the time of sun-set the Nawwāb broke the fast of Ramazān. Then he made arrangements for the journey and

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left the place at about mid-night and returned to his encampment at about 3 A. M.

On the night of the 4th of Ramaẓān he gave a dinner to General Sawil and other *sardārs* of the place. About forty-five persons, the companions in travel, were also present at the dinner. The *majlis* was arranged in the same manner as it was on previous *manzils*, with the difference that in the royal pavilion a large canopy of light frame work was put up; the pillars were decorated with green leaves in such a graceful manner as would give the appearance that cyprus trees were planted there. The rows of lantern were hung in a straight line and they gave the appearance of a milky way. These decorations enhanced the beauty of the *majlis*. After dinner there was a nautch party. The assembly broke up at about midnight and every one returned to his tent in a state of dizziness.

On the 4th afternoon at about 2 P. M. the Nawwāb rode a carriage drawn by horses, and went to the Nawwāb-bāgh followed by a few men. He returned to the encampment by evening.

On the 5th after saying the *early-morning-prayer* the Nawwāb rode a carriage drawn by horses and paid a visit to the tombs of saints interred in Tājpura. He offered *fātiḥa* with great faith to obtain a blessing. Shāh Şibghatullāh şāhib, the *sajjād-nashīn* of the *dargāh* and the *murshid* of the author of this book, tied a *dastār* to the head of the Nawwāb as a blessing. Shāh Sibghatullāh şāhib is a boon and blessing in our times. May Allāh by the good-will of such saintly persons, who are the descendants of the Prophet, grant to the Nawwāb long life, high rank and exalted position. By the blessing of such holy persons I was also initiated into the society of the disciples of this saint and thus a long-cherished desire of this sinner was fulfilled.

CH: III—THE NAWWAB'S VISIT TO THE SHRINES

At about 3 o' clock in the afternoon the Nawwāb sat in a golden *sukhsāwan* and went to¹ pay a visit to the tombs of 'Uthmān Khān Sarwar and Shāh Nāṣir Walī. Just then it began to rain and became cool. This change refreshed the travellers, for every one was feeling great hardship on account of the excessive heat, in addition to their keeping the fast of Ramaḡān during journey. The timely shower brought relief both to the animate and the inanimate. During the shower Nawwāb retired to the *yaklakh-bāgh* situated on the side of Wālājāhnakar. There he broke the fast of Ramaḡān and ate his evening repast. He returned to his tent in the night.

On the 6th of Ramaḡān at about 5 o' clock in the evening he rode a carriage drawn by horses, went to a hillock named after our first father Ādam, situated at a distance of five miles from the encampment, and paid his respects to Sayyid Mīrān Ḥusaynī who is interred there. The Nawwāb broke his fast at that place and then returned to his encampment.

On the 7th of Ramaḡān at about 9 A. M. he sat in a golden *sukhsāwan* and went to the A'zam-bāgh. He returned to his pavilion in the afternoon at about 4 o' clock, after paying a visit to the *āthār-i-sharīf* round about the encampment, and to the tombs of some holy persons, especially that of Ḥaḡrat Tīpū Qalandar. He also met Sayyid 'Uthmān, well-known as Kamandān, an old *majdhāb*, who could read the minds of people, and gave him presents. Signs of his saintliness are easily discernible on the forehead of the Kamandān. He could not move about on account of paralysis. The sun of his life is verging on the horizon. The wicked people about the place annoy this decrepit. They carry away his food whatever was available.

In brief: it was the habit with the Nawwāb to pay visits to the tombs and go round on excursion to *bāghs* during his stay at that *manzil*.

CHAPTER IV

The Return of the Nawwāb from Muḥammadpūr (Arcot) to Madras.

Section 1

On Monday the 7th of Ramazān at about 5-30 P. M. the Nawwāb got ready to proceed on his journey to Madras which was the *dārūl-amāra* of his ancestors for the past fifty years. He got into a *ʿimārī* along with his brother and started for the *manzil* Kāvīrīpāk at a distance of nine miles from Muḥammadpūr. He was followed by his own retinue and the army. The Rānīpet regiment led by its general and other *sardārs* were present outside the Delhi gate, on the bank of the river, in two rows to pay respects to the Nawwāb. The crowd which collected there was so large that it cannot be reckoned.

The Nawwāb reached after sun-set Wālājāhnakar situated on the way, and honoured the *yaklakh-bāgh* with his residence. He broke the fast of Ramazān, ate his evening repast, and rested there for the night.

On the way to Wālājāhnakar they passed through a village on the northern side. This village, known as Wanwīt or Wanwir has a river and a bridge, and a *bāgh* known as the Nawwāb-bāgh. There are also three or four *bāghs* owned by others. Some other *bāghs* in that village belong to the temple. The *mutt* of Dayāldās Bayrāgī is situated off the high-way. This Bayrāgī was famous for his generosity and his practice in alchemy.

Section 2

By the grace of Allāh, on the 8th of Ramazān at about 7-30 A.M. the Nawwāb sat in a golden *sukhsāwan* and started to Uchīrī chatar situated at a distance of five miles from

CH: IV:—AN ACCOUNT OF KAVIRIPAK

Kāvīrīpāk, and well-fitted for the encampment of the army. He reached the *manzil* at about 10-30 A.M.

The villages and chatar on the way are:

Leaving Wālājānakar, a hillock well-known as Pīr ṣāl hill, is reached on the northern side. On the top of the hill mosque and the tomb of Pīr ṣāhib.

Kūnīrī sīthī chatar has seven shops, a well and a *manāf*.

Samdāngī, on the same side, has fifty houses, two *bāghs*, one *manāf*, a well and a canal. This canal branching from Pālār empties into the Kāvīrīpāk tank.

Kandāpūr has a *gunbad* where two chaste women, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are interred. They were very fond of one another. When the daughter-in-law passed away, the mother-in-law could not bear the pangs of separation and prayed for her own speedy end. Immediately the prayer was granted and she died. Both these chaste women were buried at the same time by the side of one another.

Rāmāpūr has thirty houses, five shops, one *bāgh* and a *takya* of *faqīr* of Ṭabaqātī order; this *takya*, well-known as ‘Āshūrkhāna, has twelve *ulam* and a well full of sun-flower giving a beautiful view. The *idgāh* of Kāvīrīpāk also is at that place.

Kāvīrīpāk was in former days the *jāgīr* of Sa‘ādatmand Khān Jaddī. It has three mosques, two or three tombs, a few *takya* of *faqīrs*, a fort in ruins, five hundred houses, forty-shops, one tank, ten wells, twenty *bāghs* of mango and other fruit trees. *Bāghs* of plantain trees are more than hundred in number.

Pattamā chāwṛī has a cocoanut tope, a well, a *takya* of *faqīrs*, three houses and four shops.

Sīthī chatar has twenty houses, one ‘*āshūr-khāna* four shops, and two wells.

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Ūchīrī chatar has three *bāghs*, one well, a *chatar*, a *mandaf* and ten shops. This village has an extensive *maydān*.

Section 3

By the grace of Allāh, after the *early-morning-prayer*, the Nawwāb got into a golden *sukhsāwan* and started for Bālsithi chatar, at a distance of six miles. He reached that place at about 7-30 a.m.

The villages that came on the way are :

Awlūr chatar is met with first on the way. At about two bow-shot distance on the southern side of this *chatar*, there are fifty houses, and three shops. Contiguous to this *chatar* is the tomb of a *faqīr* attached to Pirmalipāk. The name of the *faqīr* interred there is Wājid Shāh Champar Pōsh. He is from Gopāmaw and belongs to the order of Muqīm Shāh *faqīrs* who trace their origin to the Qādirīyyas. An allowance is paid by the *sarkār* to the people in charge of the tomb.

Shankarbārī chatar has eight shops, a well, and a few huts. Facing the *chatar* are *māh* and tamarind trees.

Shankarbārī is the name of *sāhukār* who, during the days of Nawwāb Sa'ādatullah Khān reached that place with a view to establish his business as a money-lender. In course of time there were vicissitudes in his life. He suffered many a misfortune. Eventually he reached in a poor state the gates of the palace of the Nawwāb at Arcot and requested every one whom he met to conduct him to the presence of the Nawwāb. Seeing his poor condition no one cared to listen to his request. Finally one of the old servants of the Nawwāb inquired of his name and other details and conveyed the information to the Nawwāb.

The Nawwāb ordered the servant to conduct the visitor to his presence. As he approached, the Nawwāb stood up to receive him, for he immediately recognised the *sāhukār*, remembered his status in former days, and also the help

CH: IV—THE NAWWAB ARRIVES AT KANCHI

rendered to him by the *sāhukār* in times of difficulty. He took pity on the present condition of the *sāhukār* which was the result of the change of fortune. In return for the help received from the *sāhukār* in former days, the Nawwāb showed kindness to him and tried his utmost to make him happy.

In brief the *sāhukār*, who received large sums of money as presents from the Nawwāb built this *chatar* which stands till this day. It is also popularly known as Shakar Pāra *chatar*.

Dāmarlā has about one hundred huts, three shops, one tank and a well.

Puduchatram or the New chatram. It has a shop and a well.

Bālsithī *chatar* has a *takya* of *Ṭabaqātī faqīrs*. There are fifteen shops, and a well, built beautifully with stones. At a bow-shot distance from this place there are a few houses of Muslims, a *maṇalla* of Brahmins, and a few huts of other Hindus, in all about one hundred and fifty houses. There is also a *mandaf* and a tank. There are two topes of cocoanut and plantain trees.

The limit of Chitoor district ends here. The limit of the Chingleput district begins from Kanchī and extends as far as Sa'idābād.

Section 4

By the grace of Allāh on the 10th of Ramaṣān at 7-15 A.M. the Nawwāb rode a carriage drawn by horses and reached Kanchī at a distance of five miles. He halted there till the 11th of Ramaṣān.

The villages and *chatar* that lay on the way are:

Milanbī is on the southern side at a distance of two bow-shot distance from the highway. There is a tank on the

northern side adjoining the road. A small river flows on the opposite side.

Kīanbī also is at a distance of two bow-shot distance from the highway. There is a well on the southern side adjoining the road.

Sūrappā chatar with two *mandafs* belongs to the village Kīanbī. There are two wells, ten huts and four shops.

Puttīrī has a tank, two wells and a *mandaf* by the side of the highway. There was such a cyclonic storm in these parts two months after the demise of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I that all the houses in that village were laid waste and the occupants of the houses were destroyed without any trace.

Walī Muḥammad Pēṭta has a mosque, a well beautifully constructed, a shop, twenty houses of Muslims, and the same number of houses owned by weavers. As this village was contiguous to Kanchī, the Nawwāb encamped there.

Kanchī : The original name is Kanjan-nakar. This is one of the eighteen *sarkārs*. There is an ancient temple of the Hindus and people from far and near go on a pilgrimage to that temple. The small Kanchī adjacent to the big Kanchī has also a temple of great fame.

Ḥaẓrat Bābā Ḥamīd Walī, one of the *khalīfas* of Ḥaẓrat Amīnū'd-Dīn is interred there. The Hindus at Kanchī became powerless on account of his presence there, else the Muslims would not have become prosperous.

It is ascertained from the office records that there are at present in Kanchī the *gunbad* of the *walī*, nine mosques, fifty houses of Muslims, three thousand three hundred and twenty-five houses of Hindus including Brahmins and others, sixty streets, two hundred shops, one hundred *bāghs*, one hundred and four *chatar* and *mutt*, forty wells, twenty-two *petta*, forty *mandafs*, and sixty temples.

On the 11th of Ramaẓān, after saying the *after-no prayer*, the Nawwāb paid a visit to the *dargāh* of Ḥaẓrat I Ḥamīd Walī and offered *fātiḥa* to obtain his blessing. Th went to the mosque built by Ghazanfar Āli Khān on the a temple. Ghazanfar Āli Khān Bahādur, a companion of Nawwāb Dhu'l-Ḥaqqār Khān, was appointed by him as the *nāẓim* of that place.

The Nawwāb broke the fast of Ramaẓān at this mosque and said the *sun-set-prayer*.

At this mosque a quatrain of Nāṣir Āli Sarhindī, one of the companions of Ghazanfar Āli Khān Bahādur, is inscribed on a stone. This inscription¹ gives an account of the pulling down of the temple and the construction of a mosque on that site.

Zāfaru'd-Dawla the *dārogha* of the *bāghs* in Muḥammad-pūr and Sātgarḥ was presented with a *gulnārī dushāla*, and the *taḥṣildār* of Wālājānakar with a *mahtābī būtadār khilāt*.

Section 5

By the grace of God on the night of the 12th at 12-10 the Nawwāb got into a *sukhsāwan* and set out to Wāndar-wāshī at a distance of fifteen miles from the previous *manzil* and reached there at 9 a. m. on the 13th of Ramaẓān. The Nawwāb encamped outside Wālājāhbād at a place well-known as Sēvram, while the army and others passed through Wālājāhbād and then reached the encampment. But the Nawwāb avoided passing through the town for it was brought to his notice that epidemic was prevalent there since the previous day, and as per the saying of the Prophet, "It is not advisable to go to a place infected with epidemic", the Nawwāb, who often acts up to the sayings, did not pass through Wālājāhbād.

1. See Appendix for the inscription.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

The following villages were seen both on the right and left side of the highway.

Wayyāwar, Kallinūr, Naykuppam, Awtkār Būdūr, Kuttawākam, Tār̄bāmbīr and Wāndarwāshī.

The place of encampment was dreary and nothing was available.

The villages that lay along the route taken by the army are:

Natharkhānpeta, on the southern side, has a mosque with a tiled roof, five houses, one *bāgh*, a well, a *chatar* and a *mandaf*.

Mutyālpeta, in the same direction as the previous village, has fifty houses, one shop, and a tomb, where Askar Āli Shāh and Tārā Āli Shāh are interred. A canal which branches off from the river Kanchī flows by this village. There are also a *chatar* and a *bāgh* of cocoanut and palmyra trees.

Ayyampeta also in the same direction, has a Brahmin *maḥalla*, one hundred and fifty houses of weavers, five shops, one canal, a number of tamarind trees and a *chatar*.

Karakpeta in the same direction, has sixty houses, eight shops, one *mandaf*, a newly constructed well and a palmyra tope surrounded by other trees.

Pūchwāk, on the south-east, has twenty houses of farmers, one *chatar*, three wells and a palmyra tope.

Rājāmpeta has thirty houses, one shop, two wells and a *bāgh*.

Attīwāk on the eastern side, has twenty houses of farmers, a *chatar* and a *bāgh*.

Winkūrī is a desolate and barren place with a small river.

On the southern side at a short distance from the highway are some houses, a *takya* of *faqīrs* and a *mandaf*.

Sēvram is known as Wālājāhbād because Muḥammad Āli Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I populated that place. There

CH: IV—VILLAGES ON THE WAY TO MUDCHUR

are a few buildings belonging to the English and a few barracks. Two battalions, and a regiment of soldiers are garrisoned there. Very often men are recruited to the army at place.

There are at that *mansil* a mosque, a *maqbara*, one thousand houses, one hundred and fifty shops, a police station, a river with a bridge, and a few *bāghs*. Outside the town is a big *maydān*, very extensive, but without water to drink and trees to afford shade. This causes great hardship to wayfarers.

The village after Sēvram was Wāndarwāshī, where the Nawwāb had his encampment.

Section 6

By the grace of Allāh, on the 13th of Ramazān, the Nawwāb got into a *sukhsāwan* at about 4 A.M., and started for Mūdchūr at a distance of fifteen miles. He reached that place at about 7-30 A.M., and camped there till the 14th.

The villages that lay on the way are:

Panduritī has forty houses, one shop, one tank, two wells and a hill.

Nāwlūr is on the southern side at a short distance from the highway, but the well is on the way.

Kāwākaynī, on the northern side, has one hundred and two houses and a tank.

Sarpanamcherī, on the southern side of the highway but the habitation is on the eastern side. There are in this village twenty-five houses, one shop, a *chatar*, two wells, one tank and a *bāgh*.

Paṛayā, situated like the previous village, has one hundred and five houses, three shops, two wells, a tank and a *bāgh*.

Karshīkāl also is in the same direction. The houses are on the northern side. There are twenty-five houses, a well and a tank.

Tundkaynī, in the same direction, has four houses and a small tank.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

Mūdchūr has twenty-five houses, three shops, two wells, two *bāghs*, a *chatar*, a tank and a *mutl*.

Section 7

By the grace of God on the 15th of Ramaḡān at about 9 A.M., the Nawwāb got into a *sukhsāwan* and started for Farangikunda. He was accompanied by those seated in palanquins and the special retinue. He reached Farangikunda at about 1-30 P.M. and encamped at the *bāgh* owned by the *sarkār*. Colonel Nobel, in charge of the gun-regiment, the Colonel of the garrison, and the Brigadier Major commanding the forces composed of the Muslims and the English, who were waiting from morning till 1 P.M. to receive the Nawwāb at the foot of the hill, returned to the barracks as the time appointed for the arrival of the Nawwāb was past, and the heat of the mid-day sun was unbearable, although such heat was quite unexpected during that season. When the Nawwāb arrived eventually a salute of guns was fired, the musketeers presented a guard of honour as usual, and the flag was hoisted.

The villages on the way are :

Pirangaltūr has fifty houses, one shop, a tank and a well.

Tānbaram has thirty-five houses, two shops, one well, a tank, a *bāgh* and a hill.

Karpīrichatar has three shops, one well and a tank.

Bundalinchāwṛī has twelve *chatar*, two shops and a well.

Kullamchāwṛī has a *chatar*, a *mandaf*, one *bagh*, a well and three shops.

Pallī wāramchatar has three *chatar*, one *mandaf*, one shop, a well and a *bāgh*.

At Palliwāram is the tomb of Ḥaḡrat Shaykh Ḥusayn Qādirī well-known as Budū Shahīd.¹ He became a martyr

1. The name of Budū Shahīd is mentioned as Sayyid Badrud-Dīn by the author of *Tūzak-i-Walājāhī*. See *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part I, pp. 92-93 by Dr. S.M.H. Nainar, Madras University, 1934.

CH: IV—DESCRIPTION OF MANROPETA

in his young age when he fought on the side of Mir Jum' against the Portuguese. His 'urs¹ is celebrated every year on the 9th and 10th of Jumād-al-awwal, when Muslims and non-Muslims take part in the celebration. During the festival the hill and the *maydān* put on the appearance of a magnificent town.

Every year, the Nawwāb, in accordance with the custom observed by his ancestors, paid a visit to the tomb of Budū Shāhid, while he took up his residence at the *bāgh* of Farangī-kunda. About the time of the *after-noon-prayer* the Nawwāb presented himself at the tomb of the martyr and endeavoured to obtain his blessing by saying *fātiḥa*, distributing *shīrīnī* and wrapping up the tomb with a *ghilāf*.

Manropeta was named after Major General Sir Thomas Munro, the governor who formed the population of this place in these days. There are one hundred and fifty shops, and about one thousand buildings including tiled roofs, and barracks. At present three armed battalions are kept in the garrison. The forces kept in the garrison presented a guard of honour as usual to the Nawwāb and played on *tanbūr*.

There are a well, a tank and a *bāgh*. The population of Manropeta is increasing day by day. It looks as though this village will develop in due course into a smaller Madras, nay it may increase more in beauty and elegance, because the Sardār (Munro) is skilful in laying out plan for the development of the town.

The details about this *mansil* are: There are a mosque, the roof of which is covered with tiles, and a *maqbara* of Shāh 'Alī Mastān.

1. For particulars about the celebration of 'urs in memory of Budū Shāhid, see *Sources of the History of the Nawwābs of the Carnatic*, Part III, pp.142-43, and Part IV, p. 40 and n. by Dr. S.M.H. Nainar, Madras University, 1940 and 1944.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

Shāh Ālī Mastān was a saint and a mājdhūb. He passed away about fifty years ago in the month of Ramaḡān.

There are in this manzil five hundred houses of Muslims, a few takya of faqīrs, one thousand buildings belonging to the English, one thousand houses of Hindus, and two reliable bāsārs one known as Bangāli-bāzār, and the other as the Big-bāzār well-known as Farangikonda-bāzār. There will be altogether about three hundred shops.

The hillock has a small fort, five barracks, one well, a tank and three bāghs of the sarkār and more than a hundred bāghs of the English.

The garrison there contains at present one regiment of cavaliers, and two battalions of gunners with their assistants.

At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon the Colonel and others had an interview with the Nawwāb and they were favoured with presents of pān and such other things.

The taḡşildār was presented with a white būtadār shāl, a chīra, and a mahtābī qamarband.

Section 8

By the grace of Allāh on the 16th of Ramaḡān at about 7 A.M., the Nawwāb rode in a carriage drawn by horses and started for Rōshan bāgh, at a distance of two miles. He reached that place in a short while, like lightning. When the Nawwāb started from Farangikonda, a salute of guns was fired in honour of his departure. At the time of the arrival of the Nawwāb to the Rōshan bāgh a salute of guns was fired by the gunners of the sarkār.

Most of the 'ulamā, mashāyikh, members of the royal family, government servants, nay every one, out of happiness hastened forward to welcome the Nawwāb. The encampment

together with the crowd of spectators presented such a vast concourse that the *Rōshān-bāgh* looked like a big town. It would be right if the place were called A'zamābād. Every one of the followers of the Nawwāb was so happy as though he had attained the object of his pursuit.

At the *Rōshān-bāgh* the Nawwāb arranged for a dinner and invited to it the *sardārs* who accompanied him and also the *sardārs* of the army at Manrōpeta and Farangikonda, who were about fifty in number.

Tents were pitched in a magnificent and splendid manner on the bank of the river of Sa'idābād which flows by the side of the *Rōshān-bāgh*. Hundreds of *qandils* were hung on both sides which looked like *sarū-chirāghān*. I know definitely that from the time that the *bāgh* came into existence till this day such a vast concourse of people and brilliant illumination would not have been witnessed there. In ancient days the *Rōshān-bāgh* was divided into seven parts. The good taste and skill of Muḥammad Ali Khān Bahādur Nawwāb Wālājāh I was responsible for its change into the present form with the name *Rōshān-bāgh*.

In brief: the dinner was arranged with great punctilios. The dancing girls of Arcot who came along with the army were present together with the dancing girls of Madras who went there to exhibit their art and get reward. The whole night the dancers displayed their art and pleased the guests. The English musicians played on different instruments producing such a great sound as to reach the heaven.

Section 9

On Thursday the 17th of Ramaḥān, after saying the *early-morning-prayer* and before the sun rise the Nawwāb put on a *khil'at* with embroidered work in gold, and a *jāma* decorated with stars, and adorned himself with brilliant *jawāhir*. He

got into a golden *sukhsāwan* and proceeded a short distance. Then he took his seat in the royal *'imārī*, shedding great brilliance like the rising sun. His prosperous brother, who also adorned himself with beautiful *khil'at* and *jawāhir* took his place in the *'imārī* and engaged himself in waving the *morchal*. How to describe the pomp and splendour of the royal cavalcade? The pages of this book will not be sufficient for its complete description. Yet I will attempt to describe that in a brief manner.

Just at the time when the world illuminating sun began to glow, the two flags were unfurled. The flags were embroidered in gold, and the flag staffs were fixed on elephants which stood very high. The scene was magnificent. It appeared as though by the power of the Almighty God the world illuminating sun was placed on both the flags and made to shed lustre with a view to bestow dignity and grandeur to the cavalcade of the Nawwāb. There was attached to the flags, a *panja* made of gold and inscribed with verses from the holy Qurān relating to victory and triumph. Such *panjas* are often found in the cavalcade of *amīrs* of high rank. Behind the elephants came a string of camels adorned with multi-coloured *bānāt* which surpassed in beauty the colourful scenery of the spring season in China and Farāngistan (Europe). The noise sent forth by the bells on the camels, resembled the sound of *bīn*. Then came the horses carrying musical instruments such as *shahnā'ī*, *karnā*, and Turkish *nāy*. The sound produced by these diverse musical instruments was very high. The bellowing sound of the *naqqāra* enabled friends to preserve a tranquil mind while creating terror in the minds of enemies. The vast number of men armed with spears seemed to destroy the *simāki ramih*. Their flags appeared to efface the stars. The poisoned *nāchakh* were causing terror in the minds of those who harboured enmity against the religion and authority of the Nawwāb. The

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CH: IV—DESCRIPTION OF THE NAWWAB'S CAVAL CADE
khāṣṣbardārs, and *barq-andāz* of the Nawwāb were marching to
the right and left of the royal *sawārī*. The *mahādōl* with
dazzling light, the *nālki* presented by the Pādshāh, the *n*
furnished with yellow *makhmal*, the green *pālki*, the *sukhs*
having the shape of a lion's mouth, and furnished with
embroidered *jhālar* and azure-coloured curtains, the golden
sukhsāwan, and such other things necessary in a procession
horses from the royal stable with gold and silver trappings
were all kept in readiness. The mounted body guards were
present in front of the *'imārī*; behind that also were *'imārīs*
and howdahs, with those who carried *jarībs*. After them there
were persons seated in a number of *pālki's*. The horse troops
of the *sarkār*, and the horses of the regiment were marching.
Then came the armed battalion which usually marched in
company with the Nawwāb. The carriages drawn by horses
which belonged to the *sarkār* and others, and adorned with
different colours, displayed their elegant movement and style.
Then those who carried the ensigns of *māhī marātib* were pre-
sent. The sound of two grand and stately drums rose so high
as to deafen the ears of enemies. A multitude of people, high
and low, were waiting eagerly with eyes wide open like the
narcissus flower.

The cavalcade of the Nawwāb with such pomp and magni-
ficence described above passed through Rāyapeta and reached
the raised ground of the *kotwāl* at about 7-30 A.M. The
soldiers of the English regiment with musket on their shoulders
filled the area from the raised ground adjoining the *kotwāl* as
far as the *bāgh* of the late Niẓamu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Khān
Bahādur, blowing *tanbūra*, with a view to present a guard of
honour to the Nawwāb.

The Nawwāb halted at the gate of the *wālājāhī* mosque
and offered *fātiḥa* to 'Aẓīmu'd-Dawla Bahādur Nawwāb

Wālājāh III, his father, who is interred in that compound. As a dutiful son he prayed, for the happiness of the noble soul of his father and thus attained happiness. Then he proceeded to the Company-bāgh, the residence of the Governor Bahādur to meet him. The Nawwāb was a great friend of the Governor. As soon as the Nawwāb came, the Governor went forward to receive him, and gave him a very warm welcome. A pleasant half an hour was spent by them. A salute of guns was fired in honour of his visit, although a salute of guns was already fired from the Fort indicating the return of Nawwāb ṣāhib from Nāgūr, for the Governor was an intimate friend of the Nawwāb.

The Governor presented *‘itr*, *gulāb*, *pāndān*, garlands, and flowers to the Nawwāb and his companions as usual.

Then the Nawwāb took leave of the Governor and entered the *dāru’l-amāra* with the same pomp and splendour. He took his seat on the hereditary throne, and gave comfort and happiness to the minds and eyes of those who solicit him for his favour. The loyal servants submitted *nadhīr* with great affection and derived profound happiness. In the midst of general rejoicings of music and singing the following chronogram came to my mind spontaneously.¹

I (the author) was presented with a beautiful *dushāla* of carnation colour.

1. See Appendix for the verses.

EPILOGUE.

It was ascertained after the arrival of the Nawwāb to the *dāru'l-amāra* Madras, that the crescent moon of the month of Ramazān was sighted not on the 30th evening of Sha'bān but on the evening of the 29th itself at Raḥmatābād and other places, and this fact was proved to the satisfaction of the Sharī'at-panāh (Qāzī) by reliable witnesses who had sighted the crescent moon, on the 29th of Sha'bān, the month preceding Ramazān. According to this calculation the Nawwāb's departure from the *dāru'l-amāra* Muḥammadpūr should be the 8th of Ramazān, and his arrival to the *dāru'l-amāra* Madras should be the 18th of Ramazān. So the Nawwāb gave orders to make arrangements for a dinner on the night of the 22nd of Ramazān, to all men belonging to the army. Tents were pitched behind the *diwān khāna* of Humāyūn-maḥall to accommodate all men. Every one was asked to be present, relax himself freely without any restraint, enjoy the occasion agreeably and derive pleasure.

When such an order was proclaimed, everyone considered this as an unexpected favour, and engaged himself in fun and frolic as school boys who are given a holiday on a Friday. They washed themselves in the *ḥawẓ* constructed in marble in the New Bungalow built as per the design of the Nawwāb. They swam in that *ḥawẓ* just like fish. After such an outburst of gaiety, prank and merriment they ate their food. By the grace of the Bountiful God, and by the magnanimity of Nawwāb ṣāhib, the room in the *diwān khāna* of Humāyūn-maḥall well-known as the room of *Bānātī farsh* was full of dainty dishes, such as tasteful *pulāw*, *muz'afar*, *firnī*, *nān*, *kabāb*, *muthamman-murgh*, *nān-khurs̄h*, *lab-chash*, *bārānī*, *shirīnī* and fruits. All these dishes full of nice and

delicate tastes were freely served on a number of *dastar khwāns*. They enjoyed the dinner with great joy and to satiety, considering it a divine gift as the Turks would have it. For, not one of these men, had even dreamt of such an honour and favour from the Nawwāb. These poor men, all their life, had been engaged in carrying muskets and cleaning them, in grooming horses, and attending to the duties of a servant, in undertaking journeys along with the army to distant places and in fighting the enemies. Each one of these men had given up all hopes of merry-making and festive occasions. So when they got an opportunity for amusements why should not they feel happy? why should not they remove the rust formed on the mirror of their mind with the polish provided by the ruler in the form of fun and feast?

After the dinner *pān* was distributed and half a month's salary was disbursed as gratuity to each one according to rank, such as *şafdār*, *jama'dār*, *ajītan*, *ḥavldār*, *'amaldār*, and *sipāhī*. Then all were given leave to depart. Our Nawwāb who is well-known for his humanity and politeness tried to please every one according to rank. The Hindus in the army were favoured with uncooked rations. In brief every one felt satisfied, and prayed for his long life and prosperity. Thus with great happiness they all departed for their homes from the place where they were resting with comfort ever since the arrival of the Nawwāb.

The Nawwāb in the course of this prosperous journey did not grudge to spend money on any item big or small and spared no pains in attending to every detail important or unimportant. He busied himself so much in attending to work, and in bestowing care on the welfare of his subjects, that he did not eat his repast at the appointed hour. Most of the sepoy, especially Hindus, about three hundred men, died of epidemic diseases on the way to Nāgūr. On the return journey to

EPILOGUE

Madras about one hundred men died. The Nawwāb was very much distressed at this, yet he did not lose firmness of mind and his faith in God, who is All-powerful. He did not fail to keep the fast of Ramazān despite the trying hot weather always said the prayer in congregation, and continued to observe the devotional exercises as usual.

The Nawwāb desired to go from Nāgūr to Ērwādī and pay a visit to the tomb of Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Ibrāhīm Shahīd. Ērwādī is situated at a distance of eight *manzils* from Nāgūr and is in the *ilāqa* of Rāmnāt. The Nawwāb also entertained the idea that he could on the way to Ērwādī visit the tomb of Ḥaẓrat Fakhrū'd-Dīn Shahīd well-known as Kātbābā ṣāhib, and a most famous *walī* in those parts. But he was receiving constant reports about the prevalence of epidemic diseases in that area, that the road was narrow, dark and not safe for journey. The Nawwāb dropped the idea of visiting Ērwādī because the journey to that place would entail great hardship and suffering to his followers.

The two Nawwābs who preceded Nawwāb A'ẓam Jāh Bahādur Wālājāh IV as actual rulers of the Carnatic, did not undertake any journey after the battle of Kōlar in the month of Rajab of 1182 A. H., and stayed at the city preferring a secluded life. But it is a matter for praise that our Nawwāb even though he is not the sovereign ruler, undertook this journey to Nāgūr, spent lakhs of rupees, realized his wish and returned to the *dāru'l-amāra* Madras. May God grant long life to him and his family by the blessings of the Prophet and the benediction of Ḥaẓrat 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jilānī. The prosperity of the Nawwāb will be the source of our happiness, May God obliterate the enemies of religion and his authority, as a wrong letter is erased by a writer, for some of them profess love outwardly though their heart is devoid of sincere love.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

The humble writer finished this book after working day and night. May God who gives everlasting reward protect the author of this book and his family and bestow on them His mercy. May He save them from the misfortunes and misery of this world and the hereafter.

By the grace of the Omnipotent, All-powerful, and Eternal God, by the blessings of the respectful Prophet and by the benediction of Ḥaḏrat ‘Abd il-Qādir Jilānī this book *Bahār-i-A‘zam-Jāhī* was completed after the *sun-set-prayer* on the evening of Sunday the 12th Rabī‘ul-awwal, 1239 A.H. the holy and auspicious night when the Prophet of Islam was born.

This book is composed by the worthless man by name Ghulām ‘Abdu’l-Qādir, who has the *takhalluṣ*, *Nāḏir*. He is the son of late Ghulām Muḥiyyi’d-Dīn who had the *takhalluṣ*, *mu’jiz*. May God illuminate his resting place.

The book *Bahār-i-A‘zam-Jāhī* is composed by the command of Nawwāb Wālājāh Amīru’l-Hind A‘zam Jāh Fakhrū’l-Umarā Mukhtāru’l-Mulk Rōshānu’d-Dawla Muḥammad Munawwar Khān Bahādur, Bahādur jang. May God grant him long life, strengthen his authority, and fulfil his wishes.

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GLOSSARY.¹

A

- Ajitan*, this word is a corruption of the English word Ad.
Alqhoza, musical instrument; pipe, flute, a small flageolet.
Amaldār, an administrative officer; a (native) Collector of revenue.
Ām-gadhīmāru, name of one variety of mango, available in Vellore, N. Arcot district.
Ashrafī, name of a gold coin, a gold mohur (its value in Calcutta about Rs. 16); by the Regulations of 1793, it should weigh 190, 894 grains troy.
‘Āshūr-khāna, a temporary structure for the celebration of the Muḥarram festival.
Āthar-i-sharīf, the sacred relics of the Prophet Muḥammad.

B

- Bāgh-panchdar*, name of a variety of mango, available in Vellore, North Arcot district.
Bahal, a vehicle drawn by horses.
Bakhshī, paymaster (in Muslim armies); general, commander-in-chief (the office of the paymaster being combined with that of a General); an officer who keeps accounts of all disbursements connected with military tenures.
Bārgāh, darbār, court.
Barq-andāz, lit. “Lightning-Thrower”; match—lock man, musketeer.
Baytull-ḥarām, lit. “The sacred house”, the Ka‘bah at Makka.
Baytullāh, lit., ‘the house of Allah’, the sacred house at Makka.
Būṭadār, flowered cloth, chequered, spotted.
Bīn, the Indian lute (a fretted instrument of the guitar kind usually having seven wires or strings, and a large gourd at each end of the finger-board).

1. As it is not possible now to ascertain the exact connotation of certain words that were in vogue during the Muslim Administration of India, different shades of meaning for them are given.

C

Chhatar, a house set apart for the charitable entertainment of strangers, resting-place.

Chillahgāh, a place of seclusion.

Chira, a turban made of parti-coloured cloth.

Chirāgh-khānā, a room where lights are kept.

Chūndrī, a mode of dyeing cloth parti-coloured (knots being tied in different parts of it previous to dipping it in the dye to prevent those parts from receiving the colour); cloth dyed parti-coloured; a parti-coloured sheet or *sārī* worn by women.

Chūndrī dastār, a parti-coloured sash or fine muslin cloth wrapped round a turban; a napkin; towel; a cloth etc. (on which dishes are laid).

D

Daf, kind of bass tambourine (without cymbals), a tambourine.

Dārogha-i-ādālat, master of the hall of justice.

Dārogha of *bāwarchī khāna-i-khāṣṣ*, superintendent of the royal kitchen.

Dārogha of *Mōdi-khāna*, superintendent of a store house.

Dārīl-amāra, the executive office.

Dawā-khāna, a room for medicines, a medical hall.

Dhikrullāh, the praise and glorification of Allāh (the saying *subhānallāh*, *alḥamdulillāh*, and other forms of praise).

Dushāla, a pair of shawls, (worn like the *dupatta*).

Durukhī bānāt, a *bānāt* having the same face or appearance on both sides, not having a wrong side.

F

Faqīr, possessed of one day's sufficiency for self and family (the entirely destitute being called *miskīn*); poor man, beggar, religious mendicant.

GLOSSARY

Farmān, mandate; command, order; royal letter.

G

Gulāb, rose water.

Gulnāri dushāla, carnation, scarlet coloured *dushāla*.

Gunbad, an arch, a vault, a dome, cupola.

Gharī, the space of twenty-four minutes; time, hour; small (indefinite) period of time, a moment.

Gharoṭh, a title of Muslim saints (whose ardour of devotion according to popular tradition is such that in the act of worship their hand and limbs fall asunder).

H

Ḥawldar, contraction of *ḥawāldar*, *ḥawāladār*, one employed to protect the grain before it is stored; a steward or agent employed for the management of a village; a military officer (in native regiments) of inferior rank.

Hubal, name of an ancient idol in the temple of Makka.

Hūn, a sum of money, the gold coin called by the Europeans *pagoda*, current at Madras; it is worth about 6s.

I

‘Idgāh, an enclosed place (outside a town) where the appropriate service is held on the festivals of *‘idūl-ḥijr* and *baqar-‘id*.

‘Ilāqadār, (*ulāqadār*), the person who becomes responsible for the payment of the rates, etc. of a district or village.

‘Imārī (*umārī* or *ammārī*), a litter or seat with a canopy to ride on an elephant; when it has no canopy it is called a howdah.

Iṣṭabl-Khāṣṣ, royal stable.

‘Iṭr, perfume, fragrance; essence.

J

Jāgīr, holding, occupying a place; assignment of the government share of the produce of a large tract of country to an individual; a possession in land

granted either in perpetuity or for life as a reward for services or as a fee.

Jāldār gangā jamnī, muslin or other, fine cloth embroidered with the semblance of the scales of fish etc. in a mixed manner. *Gangā-jamnī*, the Ganges and the Janna rivers; a mixture of any kind; mixed as oil and butter; made of mixed metal as of gold and silver or of brass and copper.

Jāma, a garment, robe, gown; a long gown (having from eleven to thirty breadths of cloth in the skirt, which at the upper part is folded into innumerable plaits, and the body part being double breasted, is tied in two places on each side).

Jamaḍār the head of any body of men; a native officer of the army so-called; an officer of police, customs, or excise second to *dārogha*.

Jānashīn, (*Jānishīn*), a deputy, a vicegerent, a successor.

Jarīb, a sort of wooden dart with an iron point; a goad; a staff.

Jawāhir, (sing. *Jawhar*, but used as a singular also) jewels, gems, precious stones; a jewel, a gem.

Jhālar, a fringe.

K

Kamkhwāb, silk or satin worked with gold or silver flowers, brocade.

Karnā, a trumpet, the large brass trumpet which sounds the bass.

Khānqāh, a convent, a religious establishment for holy men.

Khāṣṣbardārs, an attendant who carries the arms of his master; a servant who (in a great man's retinue) carries a firelock.

Khaymagāh, encamping ground; a camp.

Khayrbīn, a kind of musical instrument.

Khilāfat, the office or dignity of Caliph.

GLOSSARY

Khilāt, a robe of honour; an honorific dress with which princes
 • confer dignity upon subjects, consisting at least of
 a turban, rope and girdle.

Khilāt-i-Jaldār mahtābī, a *jaldār khilāt* of a blue colour.

Khuddāms, domestics, servants.

Kārkhāna, workshop, factory.

L

Lab-chashī, pickle.

Lāt, name of an idol worshipped of old by the pagan Arabs.

M

Madārul-mahām, 'the centre of affairs', prime minister, regent,
 chief manager of business.

Maḥalla, a district, a division, quarter (of a city or town)
 ward, parish.

Maḥramāh (*muḥarramāt*), a kind of striped silk or cloth.

Mahtābī-khilāt, a *khilāt* of blue-light colour.

Mahtābī būṭadār chīra, a flowered turban of blue-light colour.

Mahtābī būṭadār khilāt, a chequered *khilāt* of blue-light colour.

Mahtābī maṭardār khilāt, a *khilāt* made of a kind of spotted
 cloth of blue-light colour.

Mahtābī ṭallāi jaldār khilāt, a *khilāt* painted with gold
 letters and having frills of blue-light colour.

Māhī-marātīb, certain honours of which the privilege is
 especially conferred on princes and great nobles;
 they are denoted by the figure of a fish with other
 insignia (two balls) carried as ensigns upon
 elephants.

Majdhūb, one whom God has drawn to himself; an ascetic
 much given to divine meditation.

Majlis, assembly, congress, council.

Makḥmal, velvet with two faces.

Malbūs-i-khūṣṣ, garment worn by a king or master.

Manāt, one of the three chief idols of the citizens of Makka in
 times of paganism, the other two being al-Lāt and
 'Uzza.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

- Maqbara*, a burial place, cemetery; the place of a grave, tomb, mausoleum.
- Mash'ul*, a sort of cresset; a torch, flambeau, a lantern.
- Mash'alchī*, a bearer of the *mash'ul*, a torch-bearer.
- Mashayikh*, *shaykhs*; elders; holy persons; doctors; patriarchs; dervishes;—as a *sing*, a holy man, a patriarch, etc.
- Mawlsarī*, the tree *Mimusops elengi*, and its fruit; the flowers of this tree are highly fragrant; its bark is used as a gargle for swollen gums.
- Masār*, a place of visitation;—a shrine, a sepulchre, tomb, grave.
- Mēwa-khāna*, a house stored with fruits; it was one of the royal departments in which persons were employed.
- Mir-sāmān.*, head steward; one of the royal departments.
- Mōrchal*, a whisk, or fan of peacock's feathers for driving away flies; a fan in general.
- Mughlānī*, a woman of the Mughal class; the wife of a Mughal; an attendant in the harem or woman's apartment; a needle-woman, sempstress.
- Murid*, a candidate for admission into a religious order, during a state of probation; a disciple.
- Murshid*, a guide to the right way, a spiritual director or guide; the head of a religious order.
- Murshid-i-kāmil*, an expert *murshid*.
- Musāfar-khāna*, a house for travellers, an inn, a caravansary.
- Mutawallī*, a superintendent or treasurer (of a mosque, etc.) administrator, a trustee of a religious or charitable foundation.
- Muzūfar*, dyed or tinged with saffron; a kind of sweet dish, a saffroned *pulā'o*.
- Mānandnī*, a kind of musical instrument.

N

- Nāchakhi*, a battle-axe; a halbert, a double pointed spear; a short javelin.

GLOSSARY

Nadh̄r, a gift or present from an inferior to a superior; a fee
 • paid to the state or to its representative on succeeding to an office or to property.

Nadh̄r-i-dastī, a kind of *nadh̄r*, prob. a small present.

Na'ib, lieutenant, viceroy, viceroy, deputy.

Nālā, a water course; channel for water, a ravine, brook.

Nālkī, a sort of open sedan or *pālkī*, used by persons of rank.

Nān-khursh (*nān-khwurish*) meat or fish dressed with condiments, and eaten with bread; anything eaten with bread for creating an appetite and promoting digestion.

Naqqār-khānā, the place at the porch of a palace where the drums are beaten at stated intervals.

Naqsh, painting; colouring; a carving, an engraving.

Nāy, a flute.

Nira, a juice extracted from palmyra-trees.

P

Pahra, sentinel, guard.

Pālkī, a kind of litter or sedan, a palanquin.

Pāndān, a box in which betel and its apparatus are kept.

Panja, the hand with the fingers extended; claw, paw (of a tiger etc.)

Pargīr-jīgha, an ornament worn on the turban. It consists of a band of velvet about six inches long and two broad, beautifully embroidered, and a gold plate set with precious stones sewn on it. It is sometimes adorned with feathers.

Pēshdastān, an assistant.

Pēshkash, a present to a superior; a present to the ruling power on receiving an appointment, or on the renewal of a grant, lease etc.

Pīr-nashīn, a priest attached to a mosque; a mendicant.

Q

Qādiriyya-silsila, the line of *faqīrs* who trace their origin to the *qādiriyya* order of *faqīrs*.

Qandīl, lamp.

Qaṣṣāb-duddī, a slaughter house.

Qilā, a fort.

R

Rāfiḍī, a sect of Shi'as, so called because they deserted Zayd, the son of Alī when he forbade them to speak against the Companions of the Prophet; a member of that sect.

Ra'īs, headman, commander, governor, ruler, prince, a person of authority, a person high in rank.

Raqqāṣgān, a dancer.

Riyāsat, government, dominion, sway, rule.

Rumāl-i-ḥāl, probably a *rūmāl* made of shawl cloth.

S

Sadd-i-Sikandarī, Alexander's rampart.

Ṣafdār, rank-breaker, a valiant warrior.

Sāhib-i-da'wat, a person proficient in exorcism. *Da'wah* is a term used to express a system of incantation.

Sāhukūr, a banker, a merchant, a wealthy person.

Sajjād-nashīn, (*sajjāda-nīshīn*), a Muslim priest; the spiritual superior of a mosque or religious endowment (as distinguished from the *mutawallī* or secular superintendent).

Simāki ramīḥ, Arcturus.

Sarācha, a tent surrounded with an enclosure.

Sarpēch, an ornament of gold, silver or jewels, generally worn in front of the turban; it sometimes consists of square pieces of gold plates strung together, each plate being set with precious stones; a band of silk or embroidery, from two to two and a half cubits long, worn round the turban.

Shāhpasand, name of one variety of mango.

Shahnā'ī, a musical pipe; a flute.

Shabābah, a musical instrument.

Shab-i-barā'ī, the fourteenth night of the month of Sha'bān, on which a vigil is observed with prayers, feastings,

GLOSSARY

illuminations, etc., and the Muslims make offerings and oblations in the names of deceased ancestors.

Shahīd, one who is slain in the cause of the Muslim religion on the field of battle, fighting against the unbelievers; a martyr.

Shara', a high road; the divine way of religion, the precepts of Muḥammad the Prophet; Muslim law as derived from the Qurān; law, equity.

Shirīnī, sweetmeat, sweets.

Ṣūbadārī, of or relating to a *ṣūbadār*, proceeding from or issued by a *ṣūbadār* the office of lieutenant of a province.

Sukhsāwan, a kind of carriage.

Sūrat-i-Ikhlāṣ, the title of the CXIIth Sūrah of the holy Qurān. A chapter that occurs in the daily prayer and reads thus:

Say: He is God, The One and Only God, the Eternal, Absolute. He begetteth not, nor is He begotten, and there is none like unto Him.

This chapter is known as *al-Ikhlāṣ* "clearing oneself" namely, of belief in any but one God.

T

Ṭabaqātī faqīrs, the name of an Order of *faqīrs*. The Arabic word *faqīr* signifies "poor" but it is used in the sense of being in need of mercy, and poor in the sight of God, rather than in need of worldly assistance.

Tahṣīldār, a sub-collector of revenue.

Takhallūṣ, the *nom de plume* assumed by poets.

Takya, a pillow, a resting place of *faqīrs*.

Tamgha, stamp (on gold, silver etc.), seal, a royal grant or charter.

Tanbūl-khāna, the place where the betel leaf is kept. It is one of the offices entrusted with an officer.

Taṣawwuf, the theology of the *ṣūfis* or mystics of the East; mysticism.

HISTORY OF THE NAWWABS OF THE CARNATIC V

Tasbīḥ, the declaring of Allāh as free from every imperfection or impurity, and praising Him (Saying *subḥānallāh*, glory be to Allāh).

Thān, cloth or silk etc. in the piece.

Tōp-khāna, artillery, the place where cannon and artillery stores are kept, an arsenal.

Tōrah, a tray or dish of various meats; a number of trays containing various dishes of food presented by the rich on marriage and other occasions.

Tuwar, a kind of pulse.

U

Uzza, (al-Uzza) an idol mentioned in the holy Qurān besides al-Lāt and Manāt.

al-Uzza was an idol of the tribe of Ghatafān.

W

Wakīl, an attorney, an agent, an ambassador.

Wazīr, a vezeer, the principal minister in a Muslim country.

Wazīr-i-a'ẓam, the chief vezeer.

Z

Zaqqum tree, an infernal tree described in the holy Qurān. It is a name now given to a thorny tree, whose fruit is sweet and styptic and from the stone of which oil is extracted. (Richardson's Dictionary).

APPENDIX I

نواب اعظم جاه چهار قطعهٔ پیر تکلف مطلا
متضمن مدح و استهزا و عرض حال که
در دارالاماره از دست خوشنویسان خریداری شده
بود بر دیوارهای اندرون گنبد شریف
نصب کنانید و ابدیتش این است .

اول — ای شاه بدرگانه تو شاهان چو گدا
مقبول بود هر آنچه خواهی ز خدا

این پنده کمتر که منور نام است
امید عنایت تو دارد هر جا

دوم — این مشهد پر نور که عالی جاه است
مر دعوت خلق را اجابت گاه است

نخو گل تسلیم گذار ام زایر
کاین بازگه این رسول الله است

سوم — نواب اعظم الجاه چون کرده عزم ناگور
بهر اده نیت دولت دراز بادش

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این زمزمهٔ جهانی برداشت از کس حل
یارب دهی بحق قادر ولی مرادش

سوم سرور اولیای کرناٹک
افسر اصفیای کرناٹک

هست قادر ولی رخصت ادا
مہتر اتقیای کرناٹک

سوم --- آمدہ امر بردرت کن نظرہ از کرم
ای جگر مصطفیٰ حضرت قادرولی

چہارم --- ای مظهر ولایت قادرولی مدد کن
وی مصدر عنایت مخدوم اہل عالم

آمد بشان و شوکت سوی تو اعظم الجلال
بہر ادای نیت با جیش و خاندان ہم

تاریخ پر کرامت خوش یافتہم زہاتف
از فیض ذات سبحان دریاوری اعظم

APPENDIX II

بهدالقیادر خاطر بروز عرس شریعت یازده بیت
 مشتمل بر مدح الضعفاء و اظهار پیریشانی
 خود بر سر شروازیه تیاره نامک تکوین بطور
 قطعه تیار کرده در صلب نهود چنانکه ادبیاتش
 زیب صفحه می شود

ای که هستی تو جگر گوشه محبوب خدا
 بر من دلشده فرما نظر لطف و عطا

خرق عادات و کرامات تو از حد بگذشت
 چه بظاهر چه بیاطن ز سبک تا بسما

مثل آئینه بود فیض صفایت مشهور
 که نگهبان شدت کشتی طوفانی را

دستگیرم بشوای پادشاه کرنایک
 زورق مقصد من هست بگرداب بلا

ت بیمار مزاجم ز هجوم افکار
 از شفاهانج فهض تو عطا ساز دوا

فکرشش شادی اطفال و برادر دارم
از عنایات خود این حاجت من ساز روا

بار قرض است بدوشم که ز بارش گاهم
کهکی ساز ببحالم که شود زود ادا

زایید از سال شود یافته تخفیف معاش
زین سبب لایق حال است عجب رفیع و عذا

من غلام این غلام شه جیلان هستم
بهر آن روح مقدس نگه رحم نما

دفع کن لشکر اعدا که بهر آن و زمان
میزند بر دل من ناوک صد ظلم و جفا

مستغاثی بدرت ناظر در مانده رسید
بخدا حامی او باش تو در هر دوسرا



APPENDIX III

حضرت نتهر ولی بیپانزدی در رمضان المبارک سنہ ۶۷۳
شہس صد و ہفتاد و سہ ہجری وفات یافت
و قطعہ تاریخ او این است

ظہور مظهر حرق نور سید الشہداء
شہ مطہر دین طیل عالم کوذین

سوال سال وفاتش نمودم از ہاتف
جواب آمدہ از عرش نور نور العین
سنہ ۶۷۲ ہجری

تاریخ وفات حضرت حافظ حسین
قادری در چنجی

از کرم مصطفی بہنت برد
سنہ ۱۱۵۸ ہجری

تاریخ وفات شاہ صبحۃ اللہ ثانی

فرو شد زہم آفتاب زمان
سنہ ۱۱۹۲ ہجری

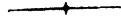
APPENDIX IV

پیر غلام علی آزاد بلوگرامی . در تاریخ شهادت
نواب ذاکر جنگ شهید گویید

نواب عدل گستر عالی جناب رفت
فرصت نداد تیغ حوادث شتاب رفت

در هفدهم زماة محرم شهید شد
فریاد گفت نوحه گریه آفتاب رفت
سنه ۱۱۶۲ هجری

APPENDIX V



ناصر علی سرھندی - در تاریخ شکست
بتکدۀ کنچی و بنائے مسجد ہیگوید

آن خان غضنفر جگر دشمن گاہ
مسجد آراست نقش بت کرد تباہ

تاریخ بنائے او علی می گوید
اینک شدہ حسن مطلع بیت اللہ



APPENDIX VI

عبدالقادر ناظر در تاریخ ورود اعظم جاه از
سفر شاگور گوید

از سیر و سفر آمده آن سرور اعظم
گردید دل خلق چو گل تازه و خرم

در سال ورودش دل من گفت یکایک
اهم آمدنت باعث آبادی عالم
سنه ۱۲۳۸ هجری

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QUOTATIONS GIVEN BY THE AUTHOR
BAHAR-I-AZEM JATHI
FROM VARIOUS WRITERS

خواجہ ابوسعید ابوالخیر المتوفی

سنہ ۲۰۴ ہجری

باعی یارب سبب حیات حیوان بفرست
وز خوان کرم نعمت الیوان بفرست

از بہر لب تشنہ طفلان نبات
وز دایمہ ابر شیر باران بفرست

حکیم افضل الدین خاقانی شروانی المتوفی

سنہ ۵۸۲ ہجری

دوہ مرگہ بصورت زندگانی

دانشگاه ملی و سنجش و سنجش و سنجش
در کارخانه کارخانه کارخانه

شیخ سید شیری استیازی الهیوفی
سنه ۱۹۱ هجری

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
الحمد لله رب العالمین

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
الحمد لله رب العالمین

شیخ سید شیری استیازی الهیوفی
سنه ۱۹۲ هجری

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم
الحمد لله رب العالمین

شیخ سید شیری استیازی الهیوفی
سنه ۱۹۳ هجری

چنان نادر افتاد در روضه
که در لاجوردی طبق بیضه

چندین کمال شیخ نیرزد به نیمه خس
راحت بدل رسان که همین مشرب است و بس

خورش ده بکنجشک و کبک و حمام
که یک روزت افتد همه بدام

در عمل کوش هرچه خواهی پوش
تاج برسر نه و علم بردوش

درویش صفت باش و کلاه تتری دار

سگ اصحاب کف روزه چند
په نیکان گرفت مردم شد

کسی که لطف کند بر تو خاک پایش باش
و گر خلاف کند در دو چشمش افکن خاک

ਸੁਖਮਨੀ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਸਿਰੀਸ਼ਟੀ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਇਹ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ ਹੈ।
ਇਸ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਾਰੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਗ੍ਰਹਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।

ਪੰਨਾ ੦੧ - ਸ਼ੁਰੂ

ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ

ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ
ਇਸ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਾਰੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਗ੍ਰਹਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।



ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ
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ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ
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ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ
ਇਸ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਾਰੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਗ੍ਰਹਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।

ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ
ਇਸ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਾਰੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਗ੍ਰਹਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।



ਗੁਰਮਤਿ ਸਾਹਿਬ ਜੀ ਦੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸੰਪੂਰਨ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ
ਇਸ ਸੰਸਕਰਣ ਵਿੱਚ ਸਾਰੇ ਗੀਤਾਂ ਦੀ ਸਹੂਲਤ ਨਾਲ ਸੰਗ੍ਰਹਿਤ ਕੀਤਾ ਗਿਆ ਹੈ।

۱۹۱۴ء میں لکھی گئی تھی اور اس میں
میں نے اپنے خیالات کو اس طرح بیان کیا ہے

میں نے اپنے خیالات کو اس طرح بیان کیا ہے
اور اس میں نے اپنے خیالات کو اس طرح بیان کیا ہے

میں نے اپنے خیالات کو اس طرح بیان کیا ہے
اور اس میں نے اپنے خیالات کو اس طرح بیان کیا ہے



میں نے اپنے خیالات کو اس طرح بیان کیا ہے
اور اس میں نے اپنے خیالات کو اس طرح بیان کیا ہے

۱۹۱۴ء میں لکھی گئی تھی

میں نے اپنے خیالات کو اس طرح بیان کیا ہے

۱۹۱۴ء میں لکھی گئی تھی

میں نے اپنے خیالات کو اس طرح بیان کیا ہے

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حضرت جامی الہمتوفی

سنہ ۸۹۸ ہجری

من ندانم کہ با نجی و علی
و این چہ گستاخی است و بے ادبی

نہ تنها عشق از دیدار خیزد
بسہ کایسی دولت از گفتار خیزد

ہاتفی الہمتوفی

سنہ ۹۲۷ ہجری

گیرم پدر تو بود فاضل
از فضل پدر ترا چہ حاصل

ناخوش بود آن عروس در ہر
گو ناز کند بچسب مادر

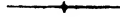
(204)

نظیری نیشاپوری المتوفی

سنه ۱۰۲۱ هجری

زخود هرگز نرنجانم دلی را

که ترسم اندرو جام تو باشد



نورالدین محمد جهانگیر پادشاه المتوفی

سنه ۱۰۲۱ هجری

هلال عید برآوج فلک هریدا شد



غنی کاشمیری المتوفی

سنه ۱۰۷۹ هجری

عزت شاه و گدا زیر زمیں یکسان است

میکنند خاک برآه همه کس جا خالی

صایب المتوفی

سنه ۱۰۸۰ هجری

بهیچ چیز تسلی نمی شود صایب
بهار دیدم و گل دیدم و خزان دیدم



شیخ محمد علی ماهر اکبر الجادی المتوفی

سنه ۱۰۸۹ هجری

نهند گرم روان گر چراغ او پیرا
چو آفتاب پس سر کنند دنیا را



ناصر علی سر هندی المتوفی

سنه ۱۱۰۸ هجری

قدم آهسته نه ای گرم طلب درره عشق
خار نهنگ دریں جادیه نشتر باشد

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شاه صوفی سرمد

مردانہ پادار جہاں پایدار نیست

میرزا محمد افضل سرخوش المتوفی

سنہ ۱۱۶۷ ہجری

کہ امیر بارگاہ عالمگیری بود

ناقص افزون بود بقدر از کامل

بیش است ز مرد قیامت خوجہ سرا

میرزا عبدالقادر بیدل المتوفی

سنہ ۱۱۳۳ ہجری

دنیا اگر دهند نذیرم زجای خویش

من بستہ ام حنای قناعت پچای خویش

سیل ہریہ کہ رود روہ بدریا دارد

شاہ سراج اور شاگ الہادی المتوفی

سنہ ۱۱۷۷ ہجری

شاگرد رشید میر ولی شاہجہاں الہادی

خواب آشفتمند ہستی کی یہی ہے تعبیر
سب تو فانی ہے مگر جاوے حق باقی ہ

شاہ محبت قدرت اللہ

کسکی نیرنگی یہ بے برق خاطر مانوس ہے
جو شرر دل سے اٹھے سو جلوئے طاؤس ہے

حسن کو اپنے ہواداروں سے ہے کاوش مدار
شمع کی ہر یک تپش بے برق دل فانوس ہے

صبر اور طاقت کبھی کے کوچ یہاں سے کرگتے
اب وداع ننگ ہے اور رخصت ناموس ہے

کل ہوس اس طرح سے ترغیب دیتی تھی مجھے
کیا ہے ملک شام اور کیا سر زمیں روس ہے

میں سر دوتو ڈکے عشرت سے کیجے زندگی
سے طرف آواز طبل اودھر صدائے کوس ہے

• صبح وقتا ہے محفل میں مے گلگوں کا دور
شیر ہوئی تو مشروبیوں سے کنار و برس ہے

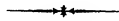
• سنتی ہے عبرت نے بولی یک تماشا میں تجھے
چل دیکھاؤں تو جو قیدآز کا محبوس ہے

• اے گئی یک بارگی گور غریبیاں کی طرف
جس جگہ جان تھنا سو طرح مایوس ہے

• مر قدیں دو تیں دکھلا کر لگی کہنے مجھے
یہ سکندر ہے یہ دارا ہے یہ کیکاؤس ہے

• پوچھہ تو اونسے کہہ جاہ و مکنٹ دنیا سے آج
کچھ بھی اونکے ماتھے غیر از حسرت و افسوس ہے

• گل جو قدرت پائے خم رکھتے تھے تسبیح ریا
آج رہن جام می یہ خرقة سالوس ہے



حضرت عثمان خان سرور

• مشرب سرور سے واقف کوئی کیونکر ہو سکے
عرض خود کرتا نہیں سنتا ہے بیگانہ کے عرض

میرزا رفیع سودا الہتوفی

سنہ ۱۱۹۵ ہجری

پڑھتے درود حسن صبیح و صلیح دیکھہ
جلوے ہر ایک پر ہے محمد کے نور کا



خواجہ میر درد الہتوفی

سنہ ۱۱۹۹ ہجری

بے فائدہ اشفاق کو ضائع نہ کرے درد
ہر دم دم عیسیٰ ہے تجھے پاس نہیں ہے



ملک میں ہے نہ یہ قدرت نہ وحش و طیر میں ہے
مرا یہ دل ہے کہ دونو جہاں کے سپر میں ہے



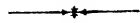
مخمس ہم وحشیونکے دل میں کچھہ اوری امنگ ہے
وحشت بھری ہے دل میں کچھہ اوری تورنگ ہے

ان کم شدوں کے آگے تو عنقا بھی دنگ ہے
اہل فنا کو نام سے ہستی کے ننگ ہے

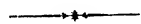
لوح مزر بھی مری چھاتی پے سنگ ہے

پیشتر از این است که از آنجا که این کتاب از آن جهت که
بسیار از آنجا که این کتاب از آن جهت که

تاریخ حال حاضر



بسیار از آنجا که این کتاب از آن جهت که
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تاریخ حال حاضر از آنجا که این کتاب از آن جهت که
تاریخ حال حاضر از آنجا که این کتاب از آن جهت که

(212)

احسن اللہ

بری باتوں کی خو ہرگز نہیں اوسکو جو انسان ہے
جو گالی سے زباں کو کام فرماوے سو حیوان ہے

نواب محمد الامیر بہادر ممتاز الہتوفی

سنہ ۱۲۱۶ ہجری

کشت امید غریبوں کے جو کوئی سبز رکھے
اوسکے اقبال کی کھیتی بھی ہری رہتی ہے

غلام محی الدین معجز الہتوفی

سنہ ۱۲۲۹ ہجری

از الفت اغیار تھی ساز ضمیرم

پر صدر حرم جاے فرماے صنہ را

م مادر مژگہ برہم زدنی وقف فنا است
تا بصد عبر ابد جاوہ جانان باقی است

زہر و آن معجز چہ می ترسی قوی دل شو
کہ داری در دو عالم محی دین مشکل کشا پیرے

شاہا قدرت آمدہ ام از ہوا مایوس
انہاشتہ در کیستہ دل مایۃ ہم را
از نقد طرب ساز بدل مایۃ حزنم
مایوس مگردان من حیران ندم را

ولای عترت اظہر انیس جاننش کن
غم حسین قدیین دل و زباننش کن

ازل سے معجز عاجز ہے خانہ زاد اس کا
کیا ہے ورد زبان صبح و شام یاد اوسکا
عقیدت اوس کی ہے دیشوں جہاں میں زاد اس کا
نصیب کر اوسے یا رب سدا حضور حسین

گر شوق ہے بتا کا تجکو اے یار جانی
ہستی کا حرف لوح خاطر سے تو مثالے

غلام عبدالقادر ناظر الہتوفی

سنہ ۱۲۲۳ ہجری

سرخرو کیجے مجھے سر سبز ہو میرا سفین
جابجا ممیل بہمفل یا حسین و (یا) حسن

آرم آرم رحمت حق بر گنهگاران خوش است



ابجد عشق بیاموز و مگو از اب وجد
گانددریں راع مراتب بحسب یافته اند



اجر دریا دل ز دست گوهر افشان میرسد
ای صدف دامن مشا کانت بسامان میرسد



ارسل النهل لنصف من جراد
تو سلیمانی کن ام عالی نهاد



افتاده کاه من به میان دو کهرجا



رباعی ام دل بیقین دان که جهان جای فنا است
غم خوردن بیپوده درین عین خطا است

چند اگه نظر کردم و دیدم چپ و راست
پاران همه رفتند کنون ذوب ما است

تا بیکار آخر غمگسار من توئی
مر چراغ خانه هم شمع مزار من توئی

این جنس همه طلای ناب است
این خانه تمام آفتاب است

این دعا از من و از جمله جهان آمیخته باد

باد گورش رحمت آباد است

با صاف دل مجادله از خوبیش دشمنی است
هر کس کشد بر آئینه خنجر بخورد کشد

بهمدانکه آن سرور شیر زور
ز سکه اون آمد سوی پشت بور

بدرد و صاف ترا حکم نیست دم درکش
که هر چه ساقی ما ریخت عین الطاف است

برگ سبز است تهاذله درویش
چه کند بر تو همین دارد

درین دعا سزد از ساکنان عرش برین
باتفاق سرایند نغمه آمین

بسیار بود فرق بیای و سر طائوس

بمحمد و آله الامجاد

بطویل شهنشاه بغداد

بنامه عمر بانی منتهی شد

بهر وقت و بهر حالت پناهر شو خداوند
که در هر دیسرا دارم امید از تو نگهبانی

تا توانی ذکا کنی در حق کس تقصیر
بدمه یا درمه یا قدمه یا قلمه

تباها باد صنم خاندان قهرالک
بحق اشهد ان لا اله الا الله

ترا ز کنگره عرش میزنند صفیر
ندانمت که درین دا مگه چه افتاده است

دانشب درهست جدر علم طالب
کثره علم یزید حسن ملیح

مباش ججد و ججد علم در آ
فرب دی دسب ک لجز لا کسب

تهی کن کسب کان غارت سامان دریا کن
بهری ده آنچه داری از خدا همت نماشاکن

جوان آبخت و جوان دولت جوان سال

چون تو میدانی که در دلها خدا است
پس ترا آداب هر دلها روا است

چون گنگ خواب دیده ز تقریر عاجز است

چون گوش روزه دار بر الله اکبر است

چه خوش بود که بر آید بیک کرشمه دو کار

حب الوطن از ملک سلیهان خوشتر

خاکساران جهان را بحدقارت متغیر
ترچیه دانی که درین گرد سرارم باشد

خالی است جیب و کیسه ما از پشیز و دام
محتاج قوت شب شده ایم اندرین دیار

داریم جامه چون دل عشاق چاک چاک
چون طره بتان شده دستار تار تار

سامان زرخت و پخت نذاریم هیچ چیز
خوشم زمین و آبر لعاف است پنجه دار

باقی قیاس کن همه عالم برین نهط
پوشیده نیست در نظر مرد هوشیار

دستم بگیر و جوهر مرا نگاه کن
عریای شدم چو برهنه شوشیر آبدار

خدا خود میر سامان است اسباب توکل را

خدا در جهان گردش بشکند
که بیخش زد دنیا و دین بکند

عالم مرگ بپیم تنهائی نیست
ان عزیز آنطرف بیشتر اند

دعاهای که در لیب خدا رسیده
نواهی فاستجیباتها شنیده

دنیای خوابی است کش عدم تعبیر است
صید اجل است اگر جوان گر پیر است

هم زیر زمین پیر است و هم بالایش
این قطعه خاک هر دور و تصویر است

رحمت حق بها نه می جوید
رحمت حق بهانه می جوید

زمانه دهد جای جلیل بزاغ

زنده است کسی که در دیارش
ماشد خاکی پیاد گارش

سرخیل که خویش را دلاو میگفت
با خلق سخن بچشم و اذرو میگفت

در کنگره سرش‌دی فاخته
بنشسته همین گفت که کو کو کو

سر در سر راه تو فدا شد چه بجاشد
این بار گران بود اداشد چه بجاشد

سفر بود بجهان مایه سر افزای
دلیل روشن من آفتاب عالمگیر

سینه صافان را تومخر میکنی هشیار باش
خنده بر آئینه کردن خنده بر ریش خود است

شاد باش ای دل که آخر عقدهات وامیشود
قطره ما میرسد جادیکه دریا میشود

شکل عبادت ارچه نظیر عبادت است
اما بندگت ز عبادت زیادت است

طاقت مهمان نداشت خانه مهمان گذاشت

عیان شد معنی نور علی نور



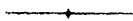
ست گم است خیمه نشین حباب را



فروتنی است دلیل رسیدگان خدا
که چون سوار بهنزل رسد پیاده شود



کار موقوف به وقت است که چون وقت رسید
خوابی از بند رهاشد مه کنعان را



کرد نام پدر چه میگردی
پدر خویش باش گر مردی



کس را وقوف نیست که انجام کار چیست



که در هواه شکر مور پیر پیر آورده است



مارا چه لازم است که ذکر بدی کنیم
گیرد خدا ز دشمن ما انتقام ما

رباعی مرغی دیدم ششسته بر باره طوس
در پیش نهاده کله کیکاوس

• با کله همی گفت که افسوس افسوس
کو بادگ جرس آه کجا کیکاوس

ندانی کو عزیز ذو اشتقام است
ز قهرش کار اعدایم تمام است

نهیگویم که از عالم جدا باش
چهر حالت که باشی با خدا باش

نه گنجد درین تنگ میدان کتاب

هر چه داری صرف کن در راه او
لن تنالوا البر حتی تنفقوا

هر چه گیرید مختصر گیرید
کار دنیا کسی تمام نگرد

هر حرف خطا که رفته باشد ز قلم
شویند بآب لطف و باران گرم

هر که آمد بجهان اهل فنا خواهد بود
آنکه پاینده و باقی است خدا خواهد بود

و پیش یکی چون پدر نخواهد بود

همت بده هیچ مرتبه راضی نمی شود
یک جاقرار نیست سپهر بلند را

هیچ آفت نرسد گوشه تنهایی را

یارب تو چنان کن که پریشان نشوم
محتاج برادران و خویشان نشوم

به منت مخلوق مرا روزی ده
تا از در تو بدر ایشان نشوم

یارب دعا خسته دلان مستجاب کن

آه کس کس کیتتین بیثبات که هم یاد کریں
غم مجنون کریں یا ماتم فرهاد کریں

الحمد لله العجل ای شاہ کتہ ہی وقت مدد
جلد اعدا کیتھیں دیں کے کر مستاصل

اوڈھہ گیا بہمن ودی کا چمنستان سے عمل
تیغ اردی نے کیا ملک خزاں مستاصل

اول قدم عشق ہے گہر پار لوثانا
محراب میں شمشیر کے گردن کو جھکانا

گر خون سے وضو پٹنا شہادت کا دوگانا
ہو سرخرو دربار میں محشوق کے جانا

بندہ کو تو صاحب ہرے قوت ہے خدا کی
اوس کا نہ کرے ہووے تو کیا بندتہ خاک کی

پہولہ دولت کا ترے جاغ سدا جوں گلریز
رہے خندان ترے اقبال کا موندہہ مثل انار

جدا اس راہ میں جو سر نہ ہو سو پار گردن ہے ،

کہ ظالم ہے وہ ہرگز پہولتا پھاتا نہیں
 نہ ہوتے کہیت دیکھا ہے کہیں شمشیر کا

۱

ہیب اب تک ہے سر گرداں بصر اے ہوس یارب
 یہ دیوانہ کو کر پبند اپنے عشق سرمد کا

خاندان زنجیر میں ہر شب یہی فریاد ہے
 جو بنا ہے ظالم کی آخر یہی پر باد ہے

ہستار زری ہے مرے خورشید لقا کا
 جوں سورج یوسف پہ ہو سر لوح طلا کا

دل تیرے اپنے کو روشنی بفرغ شعلہ عشق ہے
 کہ یہ جانتا ہے پس اذیتا کہ احد پہ تیری چراغ در

سہند ناز کو یہ نازیانہ ہوا

گر و نقارہ شاد مادی کا

ہوا سوار وہ شاید مرا شہنشاہِ حسن
کہ آفتاب نے زریں نشان کھول دئے

†

—†—

ہوتا ہے دھلمے دن سے تماشا کجری کا

—†—

ہے شامِ کفر کو اسلام کے سحر پہ ہجوم

—†—

ہے نامِ گبو وہ مردک بدکارِ مسلمان

—†—

یہ سبزہ اور یہ آبِ روان اور ابر یہ گہرا
دیوانہ نہیں کہ میں گھر میں رہوں اب چھوڑ کر صحرا

—†—

ARABIC QUOTATIONS

إذا تصيبك خصاصة فتجهل

ألا إنما الدنيا كمنزني راكب
تراه عشيا و هو في الصبح راحل

حضرت كعب بن زهير
العفو عند كرام الناس ما موان

امام شافعي

لو كان رفا حب آل محمد
فليسهد الثقلان انى رافض

برقت الى المهيمن من اناش
يرون الرفض حب الفاطمية

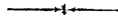
اطلبوا العلى باللهم العلى



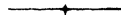
اكثروا ذكر هادم اللذات



الا ان اولياء الله لا يموتون



الاسلام يجعلو ولا يعلى



الاسماء تتنزل من السماء



الامر فوق الادب



الاولياء رعيتى



التواضع مع المتواضعين و التكبر مع المتكبرين

الخير فيما وقع

!

الدنيا ساعة ليس فيها راحة

السعيد من سعد في بطن أمه

السفر قطعة من العذاب

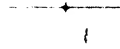
الطرق الى الله بعدد انفاس الخلايق

القناعة كنز لا يفنى

المرء مع من أع

أذكر سترون ربحكم يوم القيامة كما ترون القمر ليلة البدر

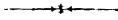
تَهَلَّقُوا بِاخْتِلاَقِ الشَّدِّ



حِبِّ الدُّنْيَا رَأْسِ كُلِّ خَطِيئَةٍ



دَعَاءُ الْغَائِبِ لِلْغَائِبِ اسْرِعْ بِالْإِجَابَةِ



رَضِينَا بِرِضَاءِ اللَّهِ



ضَرْبُ الْغُلَامِ أَهَانَةَ الْمَوْلَى



عِنْدَ ذِكْرِ الصَّالِحِينَ تَنْزِلُ الرَّحْمَةُ



فَاسْتَعِينُوا مِنْ أَهْلِ الْقُبُورِ

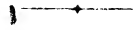


قَدِمِي هَذِهِ عَلَى رَقِيبَةٍ كُلِّ وَلِيٍّ اللَّهُ



كُلُّ أَمْرٍ مَرْهُونٌ بِأَوْقَاتِهَا

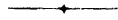
كفر مومنين في قيام وكفر كافرين في عباد



سبوا قريشا فان عالمها يهلا الارض علما



من زار قبيري وجميت لست شفاعةتي



من عاب عييب



موتوا قبل ان تموتوا



نمر كنوم الحروس





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